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L E T T E R

OF

H E R N A N D O D E S O T O.

AND

M E M O I R

OF

H E R N A N D O D E E S C A L A N T E F O N T A N E D A.

Translated from the Spanish,

BY

BUCKINGHAM SMITH.

---

WASHINGTON:

1854.

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OF



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18561



Presented to

Saml. L. M. Barber Esq

J. W. M. Phipps





LETTER  
FROM  
HERNANDO DE SOTO,  
IN  
FLORIDA,  
TO THE JUSTICE AND BOARD OF MAGISTRATES  
IN  
SANTIAGO DE CUBA.

JULY 9TH, 1539.





On the cover is written :—

“TRANSCRIBED FROM A LETTER WHICH THE ADELANTADO SOTO WROTE TO THE JUSTICE  
AND BOARD OF MAGISTRATES OF SANTIAGO, IN THE ISLAND OF CUBA.

CONTULI,

MUÑOZ.”



SIMANCAS.

FLORIDA.

SOTO.

CARTAS.

LEG. 31. 1539.

## LETTER.

---

VERY NOBLE SIR:

Ever since I have been in this new country, although it is at no great distance from that in which you dwell, having only some sea between, a thousand years appear to me to have passed since I have heard any thing of Your Worships. It is, indeed, long since I have received a letter from you, notwithstanding that I left letters at Havana to go to you in three directions. I feel that I ought continually to give you account of what occurs; and now that an opportunity offers in which I may do so, I will state what I think and believe will be interesting to you, as you are personages whom I value, and, I know, are well-wishers for my success.

On Sunday, the 18th day of May, I left Havana, with all my armada; for, although I had written to you that I would leave on the 26th, I sailed before the day, not to lose a favorable wind, which, however, died away so soon as we were at sea: the calm, nevertheless, was not so unbroken as to prevent us from anchoring near this coast on the eighth day out, which was Sunday.

Having fallen four or five leagues short of the port, without any of my pilots being able to tell where it was, it became necessary for me to go in the pinnaces and look for it. In finding, and entering it, we were engaged three days; and because we were unacquainted with the passage, which proves to be a roadstead, that runs up a dozen leagues, or more, from the sea, we were so long detained that I was obliged to send the Lieutenant-General, Vasco Porcallo de Figueroa, in my stead, in the pinnaces, to take possession of a town on the Cape





of the bay.\* I ordered all the men and horses to be landed on a beach; whence we went, with great difficulty, to join Vasco Porcallo, on Trinity Sunday. In consequence of the fears with which our coming has inspired the Indians, they have abandoned all the coast to us, so that for the distance of thirty leagues up from it not a man of them has remained.

After our arrival, I received information of there being here a Christian, who was in the power of a cacique; and I sent Baltasar de Gallegos, with forty cavalry and as many infantry, to endeavor to get him. He met him, in company with eight or ten Indians, a day's journey from this place, and brought him to me. We were not a little glad to have him; for he speaks the language of the country, and although he had forgotten his own, it directly returned to him. His name is Joan Ortiz, a native of Sevilla, and a hidalgo.

In consequence of this occurrence, I went myself for the cacique, and came back with him in peace. I then dispatched Baltasar de Gallegos, with eighty lancers and a hundred foot soldiers, to enter the land. He has been through fields of maize, beans, pumpkins, and other vegetables and fruit, enough for a very large army to subsist upon without knowing a single want. Having been allowed, without interruption, to reach the town of a cacique named Urripacoxit, the lord of this in which we are, also of many more towns, some Indians were sent to him to treat for peace. This, he writes, having been made, the cacique failed to keep certain promises made to him; whereupon he seized about seventeen persons, including some of the principal men; for, in this way, he is of opinion, he can best secure their performance. Of the persons he thus detains, a part are old men of authority—as great as can be among such people, and they have knowledge of the country lying beyond them. They say, that at the end of three days' journey from there, going by some towns and *bahíos*,† all well inhabited and possessing many animals, is a large town called Acuera, where we could winter with great convenience; and that two days' travel farther is another town, called Ocale. It is so large, and they so extol it, that

\* “—— al Cabo del ancon.”

† Huts, in the language of the Lucayans.—*Translator.*





I dare not repeat what is stated. They say, that there is to be found in it a great plenty of all the things mentioned, and fowls, *guanajos*\* in yards, and tame deer tended in herds. How this can be, I do not understand, unless they mean the cattle, of which we heard before coming here. They say, that there are many traders and much barter; and that there is an abundance of gold and silver, and are many pearls. God grant that this may be so; since, of what they say, I believe nothing but what I see and do examine, although they know, and have been told, that if they deceive me, it will cost them their lives. This interpreter affords us the means of being understood, and without him I know not what we should do. Glory to God, who has directed all, through his bounteous goodness, in such a way, that He appears to have this enterprise altogether under his especial care, that it should be for his service, as I have besought that it might be, and have so dedicated it to Him.

I sent eighty soldiers by sea in boats, and my General by land with forty horsemen, to fall upon a throng of some thousand Indians, or more, whom Joan de Añasco had discovered: but the General returned last night and reported that they had escaped, and that, although he had followed them, they could not be overtaken, because of the many obstructions in the way. On our coming together,† we will go to join Baltasar de Gallegos, that we may march to pass the winter at Ocale, where, if what they say be true, we shall have nothing to desire. Heaven be pleased that something may come of this that shall be for the service of our Divine Master, and whereby I may be enabled to serve Your Worships, and each of you, as I desire, and as is your due.

Notwithstanding my continual occupation here, I am not forgetful of the love I owe to objects at a distance; and since I may not be there in person, I believe that where Your Worships are, there is little in which my presence can be necessary. This duty weighs upon me more than every other; and for the attentions you will bestow, as befits your goodness, I shall be under great obligations. I enjoin it upon you, to

\* Turkeys, in the language spoken by the natives of the Yucayo Islands.—*Tr.*

† Añasco had gone out in command of the boats, and by this appears not yet to have got back. See OVIEDO.—*Tr.*



make the utmost exertions to maintain the quiet and well-being of the public, and the proper administration of justice, consulting alway with the *Licenciado*, that every thing may be so done, according to law, that God and the King may be served, myself gratified, and every one be content and pleased with the performance of his trust; as Your Worships have ever considered for my honor, not less than your own, although I still feel that I have the weight thereof, and bear the responsibility.

As respects the bastion which I left begun, if laboring on it have been neglected, or perhaps discontinued, (owing to the idea that the fabric is not now needed,) Your Worships will favor me by *having it\** finished; since every day brings change, and although no occasion should arise for its use, the erection is provident for the well-being and safety of the town; an act that will yield me increased satisfaction, through your very noble personages.

That our Lord may guard and increase your happiness, is my wish, and Your Worships' deserving.

At the Town and Port of Espiritu Santo, in the Province of Florida. July the 9th, in the year 1539.

The Servant of Your Worships,

EL ADELANTADO D. HERNANDO DE SOTO.

\* A note written on the copy: "The italic letters mark a blank in the original paper."





MEMOIR  
OF  
HERNANDO DE ESCALANTE FONTANEDA,  
RESPECTING  
FLORIDA.

WRITTEN IN SPAIN, ABOUT THE YEAR

1575.



A NOTE BY JUAN BAPTISTA MUÑOZ.

"A VERY GOOD ACCOUNT, ALTHOUGH IT IS BY A MAN WHO DID NOT UNDERSTAND THE ART OF WRITING, AND THEREFORE MANY SENTENCES ARE INCOMPLETE.

"ON THE MARGIN OF THE ORIGINAL ARE POINTS MADE BY THE HAND OF HERRERA, WHO DOUBTLESS DREW ON THIS FOR THAT PART ABOUT THE RIVER JORDAN, WHICH, HE SAYS, WAS SOUGHT BY PONCE DE LEON.

MZ."





SIMANCAS.  
FLORIDA.  
DESCRS. I POBLS.  
8.  
OMNIS TEMPORIS.

## MEMOIR.

---

*Memoir of the things, the shore, and the Indians of Florida, to describe which, none of the many persons who have coasted that country have had sufficient knowledge.*

VERY POWERFUL LORD:

The Islands of Yucayo and of Ahite<sup>(A)</sup> fall on one side of the Channel of the Vahama. There are no Indians on them,<sup>(B)</sup> and they lie between Havana and Florida.\*

There are yet other islands, nearer to the main, stretching between the west and east, called the Martires; for the reason that many men have suffered on them, and also because certain rocks rise there from beneath the sea, which, at a distance, look like men in distress.†<sup>(C)</sup> Indians are on these islands, who are of a large size: the women are well proportioned, and have good countenances. There are two Indian towns; in one of them the one town is called Guarugunve, which in Spanish is *pueblo de Llanto*, the town of weeping; the name of the other little town, Cuchiyaga, means the place where there has been suffering.‡

These Indians have no gold, less silver, and less clothing. They

\* Some portions of this account have evidently been twice drafted. See the part marked *a* in the Appendix, which appears to have been intended for the commencement.—*Translator*.

† HERRERA, *Descripción de las Indias Occidentales*; Dec. I., Lib. IX., Cap. X.

‡ *Ku-chi (cha) ya-ya*, in Chahta, is "going-out (to) wail." See a comment at the foot of note BB.



go naked, except only some breech-cloths woven of palm, with which the men cover themselves; the women do the like with certain weeds that grow on trees. These appear like wool, although they are different from it.<sup>(D)</sup>

The common food is fish, turtle, and snails (all which are alike fish), and tunny and whale; which is according to what I saw while I was among these Indians. Some eat sea-wolves;<sup>(E)</sup> not all of them, for there is a distinction between the higher and the lower classes, but the principal persons eat them. There is another fish which we here call *langosta* (lobster),<sup>(F)</sup> and one like unto a *chapin* (trunk-fish),<sup>(G)</sup> of which they consume not less than of the former.

On these islands are many deer, and a certain animal that looks like a fox, yet is not, but a different thing from it. It is fat and good to eat.<sup>(H)</sup> On other islands are very large bears; and, as the islands run from west to east, and the land of Florida passes eastwardly towards these islands, that must be the reason of bears being on them; for the main is near, and they can cross from island to island. But what was a great wonder to the captives who were there, and to those of us in other parts, was the existence of deer on the Islands of Cuchiyaga, up to the very town of which I have spoken. Much more would I relate of each of the animals, but that I have other objects which call my attention, and I leave them.

On these islands is likewise a tree we call here *el palo para muchas cosas* (the wood for many uses),<sup>(I)</sup> well known to physicians; also much fruit of many sorts, which I will not enumerate, as, were I to attempt to do so, I should never be done writing.

To the west of these islands is a great channel, which no navigator dares go through with a large vessel;<sup>(J)</sup> because, as I have said, of some islands that are on the opposite side towards the sunset, which are without trees, and formed of sand. At some time they have been the foundations of cays, and must have been eaten away by the currents of the sea, which have left them thus bare, smooth and sandy. They are seven leagues round about, and are called the Islands of the Tortugas; for turtle are there, and many which come at night to lay their eggs in the sand. The animal is of the size of a shield, and has as much flesh as a cow; it is like all kinds of meat, and yet is fish.



Running from south to north between Havana and Florida, in the direction of the Tortugas and the Martires, there are forty leagues of distance; twenty leagues to the Martires, and thence other twenty to Florida\*—to the territory of Carlos, a province of Indians, in the language of which the word signifies a fierce people, as they are called for being brave and skilled in war, as in truth they are.<sup>(6)</sup> They are masters of a large district of country, as far as a town they call Guacata, on the Lake of Mayaimi, which is called Mayaimi because it is very large. On the margins are many little villages, which I will name over hereafter. The distance in going from Havana to the farthest islands, which are beyond the Cape of the Martires and almost unite to Florida, is sixty leagues; because those islands are near seventy leagues in extent, and lie from west to east.

This channel has a variety of passages, and many different outlets and branches. The principal channel is very wide; the way through its midst being towards the Islands of Vermuda, of which I have some small idea from what the Indians say; but not wishing to extend this account in that direction, I return to the part of it which treats of the termination of the islands on the north.

The Martires end near a village of Indians called Tequesta,<sup>(7)</sup> situate on the bank of a river which comes from the interior of the country the distance of fifteen leagues, and issues from another lake of fresh water,<sup>(8)</sup> which is said by some Indians who have traversed it more than I, to be an arm of the Lake of Mayaimi. On this lake, which lies in the midst of the country, are many towns, although of not more than thirty or forty souls each; and as many more places there are in which people are not so numerous. The inhabitants make bread of roots, which is their common food the greater part of the year; and because of the lake, which rises in some seasons so high that the roots cannot be reached in consequence of the water, they are for some time without eating this bread.<sup>(9)</sup> Fish is plenty and very good. There is another root, like the truffle of this country, which is sweet;<sup>(10)</sup> and there are other different roots of many kinds; but when there is game, either deer or birds, they prefer to eat flesh or fowl. I will also men-

\* HERRERA, Dec. I., Lib. IX., Cap. XII., § 2.





tion, that in the rivers of fresh water are infinity of eels of very high flavor, and enormous trout, nearly the size of a man. The eels are the thickness of the thigh, and some of them are smaller. The Indians also eat *lagartos* (alligators),<sup>(P)</sup> and snakes, and an animal like a rat, which lives in the lake, fresh-water tortoises,\* and many more wild animals, which, if we were to continue enumerating, we should never be through.

These Indians occupy a very rocky and a very marshy country. They have no product of mines, or thing that we have in this part of the world. The men go naked, and the women in a short cloak made of a kind of palm-leaf, split and woven. They are subjects of Carlos, and pay him tribute of all the things I have before mentioned, food and roots, the skins of deer, and other articles.†

The Auditor Lucas Vasquez, a resident of Santo Domingo, and six others, townsmen of his, I think, left there with vessels, (of which some Indians of the Island of Yeaga, at the end of the Lucayo Islands,<sup>(Q)</sup> give account,) to see the river and land of Santa Elena. Seven leagues to the north of these is a town, which, instead of pronouncing it Orizta, they who went there called it Chicora;<sup>(R)</sup> and as to the other town, for Guale, they said Gualdape. The Spaniards saw no more towns; for they explored no farther, and did not enter nor examine the coast in earnest, for fear of striking their vessels and getting them lost. Thus they accomplished no more; although it is true that neither gold nor silver is to be got there, as they are to be found only at places remote. It is said, that sixty leagues inland towards the north there are regions of gold and copper; and along the banks of a river, and by lakes, are towns, Otapali, Olagatano, and many others.‡ The inhabitants are neither Chichimecas nor the people of the Jordan. The king is called *mayor y gran Sör* (chief and great lord) in our language; and in that of the Indians of Carlos, it is Zertepe. The cacique is the greatest of the kings, having the renown of Montezuma.

\* The Opossum, and the *Testudo polyphemus* of Daudin.

† The paragraph marked *b* in the Memoranda appears to me to have been designed to follow here and close a chapter.

‡ HERRERA, Dec. III., Lib. VIII., Cap. VIII.



The natives are poor at the place to which Lucas Vasquez and other Spaniards went, although some seed pearls are found there in certain conchs. They eat fish, oysters (roasted or raw), deer, roebuck, and other animals. When they kill these, the women bring wood to roast or to boil with, and water in clay pots. If the Spaniards found any gold, it must have come a long way, from the mountains, and from that king of whom I just spoke. The Jordan that is talked of, is a superstition of the Indians of Cuba, which they hold to because it is their creed, not because there is such a river.

Juan Ponz de Leon, giving heed to the tale of the Indians of Cuba and Santo Domingo, went to Florida in search of the River Jordan, that he might have some enterprise on foot, or that he might earn greater fame than he already possessed and close his life,—which is the most probable supposition; or, if not for these objects, then that he might become young from bathing in such a stream. This thought was of itself proof that all must have been fiction that was told by the Indians of Cuba and its whole neighborhood, who, to satisfy their tradition, said that the Jordan was in Florida; to which at least I can say, that while I was a captive there, I bathed in many streams, but to my misfortune I never came upon the river. Anciently, many Indians from Cuba entered the ports of the Province of Carlos in search of it; and the father of King Carlos, whose name was Senquene, stopped those persons, and made a settlement of them, the descendants of whom remain to this day. And the same objects that they who left their country came in quest of in the River Jordan, the kings and caciques of Florida, although savages, took information of and sought after, as though they had been a more polite people, that they might see what river that could be which did such good work, even to the turning of aged men and women back to their youth. So earnestly did they engage in the pursuit, that there remained not a river nor a brook in all Florida, not even lakes and ponds, in which they did not bathe; and to this day they persist in seeking that water, and never are satisfied. In the attainment of the promises of their faith, those of Cuba determined, for such was their vow, to venture their lives on that sea; and it ended in all that numerous people who went over to Carlos





forming a settlement: but to this day youth and age find alike that they are mocked, and many have destroyed themselves. It is cause for merriment, that Juan Ponz de Leon went to Florida to find the River Jordan.<sup>(8)</sup>

We will speak of the country towards Abalachi, which is in the direction of Pánuco, where resounds the fame of its abundance of pearls; and it is certain that they do exist. Between Havalachi and Olagale<sup>(T)</sup> is a river the Indians call Guasaca-esgui, which means in our language, *Rio de Cañas* (river of canes).<sup>(U)</sup> On this river, arm of the sea, and coast, are the pearls, which are got in certain oysters and conchs. They are carried to all the provinces and villages of Florida, but principally to Tocobaja, the nearest town; because in it resides the king, who is chief cacique of the region lying on the right-hand side coming to Havana.<sup>(V)</sup> He is called Toco-vajachile, has many vassals, and is an independent king. He lives inland on the last cape of the river. There are more than forty leagues of distance, following up the stream, to where Hernando de Soto thought to colonize; but he did not do so, in consequence of his death. When that took place, the intention was abandoned, and the soldiers marched on. The Spaniards, on their way, hung the cacique of Abalachi, because he would not give them provision of maize for the journey; or, as the Indians of the town of Abalachi say, because their cacique had around his neck some large pearls, and in the middle of them a very big one, about the size of an egg of the turtle-dove,—which there are in that country, and have nests in their season on trees;—and this is what the Indians state.<sup>(W)</sup> There are no lands there having either silver or gold, at least the natives do not know of any. Their food is maize and fish; and there is a very great deal of both. They kill a great many deer, antelopes, and other animals, that they eat; but their usual food is fish. They make bread from certain roots, such as I have described before as growing in swamps; and they have fruits of different kinds, which to mention would be endless.

These Indians do not wear clothing, not even the women. They go naked, except some dressed deer-skins made into breech-cloths, with which they only conceal their shame. The females cover themselves



about the waist with the straw that grows on trees. This weed is like tow, or wool, but is brown, instead of white.\*

We will now leave Tocobaga, Abalachi, Olagale, and Mogoso, which are separate kingdoms; and I will name over the villages and towns of the deceased cacique Carlos, who was put to death by sentence of the Captain Reynoso. First, a place called Tampa, a large town, and another town, which is called Tomo; another, Tuchi;† and another, Soco;‡ another, by the name Ño, which signifies town beloved; another, Sinapa;§ and another, Sinaesta; and another, Metamapo;|| and another, Sacaspada; and another, Calaohe;¶<sup>(X)</sup> and another, Estame; another, Yagua; another, Guevu; another, Muspa;<sup>(X)</sup> another, Casitoa; another, Tatesta;<sup>(Z)</sup> another, Cayovea; and another, Jutun; another, Tequemapo;\*\* and another, with the name of Comachica; also, Quisiyove, and two other towns of that territory, the names of which I do not recollect, for it has been six years since I came from there.<sup>(AA)</sup> Besides, there are others inland, on the Lake of Mayaimi; and another town, and the first is Cutespa; another, Tavaguemue; another, Tomsobe;†† another, Enempa;‡‡ and other twenty towns there are, of which I do not remember the names. There are also two towns more, which are on the Islands of the Yucayos, subject to Carlos, the Indian before mentioned; the one is called Guarungunve, and the other, Cuchiyaga.<sup>(BB)</sup> Carlos, after his father, was lord of these fifty towns, until the time of his execution, as I have said; and now Don Pedro reigns, the son of Sebastián. These two were brought to Havana by Pedro Melendez, that he might gratify them, and he directed that they should be so named; but they became

\* I think the paragraphs marked *c* in the Memoranda were originally written for the place this paragraph occupies.

† *A-toh-che?* "pouch."

‡ *Suk-ko*, "muscadine grape."

§ *Sint' äp-a*, "snake-eaters."

|| *Ni-ta im' am-po*, "bears their bowl."

¶ *Käl-li 'fo-bi?* "spring (that is) deep."

\*\* *Tek im' am-po*, "women their bowl."

†† Ton-so-bé, the swallow-tailed hawk, *Falco furcatus*.

‡‡ *Il im-pa?* "we eat." These are all words in Chahta.



worse than they were before he made them gifts, and still worse would matters have stood had they been christened; but, as I did not wish that they should be, they were not; for, by their conversation, I discovered that baptism was not lawful for them,—they were heretics; and since then it appears they have returned to their old ways, and are more wicked than they were formerly.<sup>(CC)</sup>

That people understand the greater part of our strategy, are archers and men of strength. No one knows that country so well as I know it, who write this; for I was a captive among its inhabitants, from the age of thirteen years until I was thirty years old. I speak four languages, but not the language of Ais and Jeaga, which is a country I never travelled into.<sup>(DD)</sup> I wish only to say this more of Carlos,—it has a large population, is rich in pearls, and possesses little gold.

The mineral regions of Onagatano are distant, on the snowy mountains of Onagatano, who is the farthest vassal of Havalachi and Olagatano, and is far from Olagale, Mogoso, and the people of Cañogacola.<sup>(EE)</sup> These last, the Indians say, are numerous, and are great warriors; they go naked, although some of them are clothed in skins; and they know how to draw, and whatever they see, they paint. They are called Cañogacola, which means a crafty people, skilful with the bow. Notwithstanding these qualities that they have, the good arms of the Spaniards will overcome them—good crossbows, firelocks, and shields, swords broad and thick, good horses and escaupiles,<sup>(FF)</sup> with one or two persons who understand their ways, the interpreters being true and trustworthy, not like the Biscayan, who would have sold Pedro Melendez to the Indians had it not been for us, myself and a mulatto, who discovered the treason, otherwise every one must have been slain, and I among the rest.\*

Pedro Melendez would not then have died in Santander, but in Florida, in the province of Carlos. There is no river nor bay there that can be hidden from me; and had I received the consideration I merit, the Indians at this day would be the vassals of our powerful king Don Felipe, whom God preserve many years! I have already said that the

\* This may be the incident spoken of by BARCIA as occurring in the year 1566.





cacique\* is lord of the River of Canes, where the pearls and lands of lapis lazuli are,† and that the gold is afar off in the last dependency and town of Olagale.‡

One Don Pedro Vizcaíno, whom His Majesty made Keeper of the Swans, was a captive in this province.§ If he on whom this gift was graciously conferred had been more of a man, the Indians of Ais, Guacata, Jeaga, and their vassals, would already have been subjugated, and even many of them made Christians; but he is a man of little ambition and capacity, so it is useless to have vain regrets. He understands well the language of Ais, and the languages of the other places mentioned, which are spoken as far as Mayaca and Mayajuaca, parts over against them, towards the north; but I think that because of the order of Pedro Melendez to hang him, in consequence of a falsehood that was raised against him and Domingo Ruiz, his companion, he was frightened, and came to Spain with the news about Florida, and would not go back again. If he did go back, it must have been to bring with him a son he had among the Indians, as he brought him here and never went there more. And because of the unjust treatment to the interpreters, he desired not to go back, as others of us have not, remaining as we are without pay to this time; for, as we came destitute, it gave us little wish of returning to Florida to serve without any recompense.

The King of Ais and the King of Jeaga are poor Indians, as respects the earth; for there are no lands of silver or of gold where they are; and, in short, they are rich only by the sea, from the vessels that have been lost well laden with these metals, as was the case with the transport in which Farfan and the mulatto owner were; with the vessel of the Vizcaíno, in which came Anton Granado, who was a passenger, and was captured; and with the vessel of which Juan Christóval was master and captain, lost in the year '51, when the Indians murdered Don Martin de Guzmán, the Captain Hernando de

\* Of Cañegacola?

† Chalcedony is found in the country.

‡ This name, as appears from the context, should be "Olagatano."

§ Is it from him that Cayo Vizcaíno gets its name?



Andino, Procurador of the Province of Popayán, and Juan Ortiz de Zárate, Distributor of Santa Martha; and there came in her also two sons of Alonzo de Mena, with an uncle, all of them rich. He that brought least was I, but with all I brought twenty-five thousand dollars in pure gold; for my father and mother remained in Carthagena, where they were *comenderos*, and served His Majesty in those parts of Peru, and afterwards in the city of Carthagena, where they settled, and I and a brother were born. Thence they sent us to Spain to be educated; when we were wrecked on Florida, as I have stated.

Other vessels have been lost; among them the armada, of which it was said the son of Pedro Melendez was General;<sup>(GG)</sup> for the Indians took a Spaniard that reached the shore whom they found famishing, and I afterwards saw him; also one Juan Rodriguez, a native of Nicaragua, spoke with him. He told us that he came from New Spain, and was going to Castile; that the General was a son of Pedro Melendez, the Asturian; that he came as a sailor in another vessel; and that the people of neither knew any thing of what had befallen the other, until the Indians armed themselves to go to the coast of Ais, when he saw them go and return with great wealth, in bars of silver and gold, and bags of reals, and much clothing. As he was newly captured, or found, and understood not the Indians, I and Juan Rodriguez were the interpreters for this man, and others, as we already knew the language. It was a consolation, though a sad one, for those who were lost after us to find on shore Christian companions who could share their trials and help them to understand those brutes. Many Spaniards have saved their lives by finding before them these associates. For the natives who took them would order them to dance and sing; and as they were not understood, and the Indians themselves are very artful, (for the most so of any are the people of Florida,) they thought the Christians were obstinate, and unwilling to do so. And so they would kill them, and report to their cacique that for their craft and disobedience they had been slain, because they would not do as they were told; which was the answer, as I have said, made to the cacique when he would ask why they had killed them. One day, I, a negro, and two others, Spaniards recently made captives, being present, the cacique, in conversation with his vassals and the great chiefs of his



train about what I have just mentioned, asked me, I being *mas ladino* (better acquainted with the language than any one), saying: "Escalante, tell us the truth, for you well know that I like you much: When we require these, your companions, to dance and sing, and do other things, why are they so dissembling and obstinate that they will not? or is it that they do not fear death, or will not yield to a people unlike them in their customs? Answer me; and if you do not know the reason, ask it of those newly taken, who for their own fault are prisoners now, a people whom once we held to be gods come down from the sky." And I, answering my lord and master, told him the truth: "Sir, as I understand it, they are not contrary, nor do they behave badly on purpose; but it is because they cannot comprehend you, which they earnestly strive to do." He said it was not true; that often he would command them to do things, and sometimes they would obey him, and at others they would not, however much they might be told. I said to him: "With all that, my lord, they do not intentionally behave amiss, nor for perversity, but from not understanding. Speak to them, that I may be a witness, and likewise this your freedman." And the cacique, laughing, said: "Se-le-te-ga," to the new comers; and they asked what it was he said to them. The negro, who was near to them, laughed, and said to the cacique: "Master, I will tell you the truth; they have not understood, and they ask Escalante what it is you say, and he does not wish to tell them until you command him." Then the cacique believed the truth, and said to me: "Declare it to them, Escalante; for now do I really believe you." I made known to them the meaning of Se-le-te-ga, which is, "Run to the look-out, see if there be any people coming;" they of Florida abbreviate their words more than we. The cacique, discovering the truth, said to his vassals, that when they should find Christians thus cast away, and take them, they must require them to do nothing without giving notice, that one might go to them who should understand their language. And so it happened, that the man just spoken of, who was called Pijiguini, was the first found after that. In our tongue his name was Martinez, a sailor, as before stated, who came from Mexico in the flota that was lost.

Leaving this matter aside, I desire to speak of the riches found by the Indians of Ais, which perhaps were as much as a million of dollars,





or over, in bars of silver, in gold, and in articles of jewelry made by the hands of Mexican Indians, which the passengers were bringing with them. These things Carlos divided with the caciques of Ais, Jeaga, Guacata, Mayajuaci, and Mayaca,<sup>(III)</sup> and he took what appeared to him well, or the best part. These vessels, and the wreck of the others mentioned, and of caravels,\* with the substance of the Indians of Cuba and Honduras who were lost while in search of the River Jordan, and who came well off, were taken by Carlos, and by the chiefs of Ais and Jeaga. The Indians of the Islands of Guarungunve are rich; but, in the way that I have stated, from the sea, not from the land. From Tocovaja to Santa Elena, which may comprise a shore of six hundred leagues,<sup>(II)</sup> there is neither gold nor silver native to the country, and only that of which I have spoken as coming by the sea. The land is abundant in pasturage; but it is not worth while for me to say whether there is any fit for settlement or not, since the Indians can live on it; nor yet for the planting of sugar-cane, as I do not know it positively, although some stalks were set out which grew; but as I was not afterwards present, I did not see the result.

In all these provinces which I have named, from Tocovaja-chile to Santa Elena,<sup>(JJ)</sup> the people are great anglers, and at no time lack fresh fish. They are great bowmen, and very faithless. I hold it certain they never will be at peace, and less will they become Christians. I will sign this assertion with my name as a very sure thing, for I know what I say. If my counsel be not heeded, there will be trouble, and matters be worse than they were beforetime. Let the Indians be taken in hand gently, inviting them to peace; then putting them under deck, husbands and wives together, sell them among the Islands, and even upon Terra-Firma for money, as some old nobles of Spain buy vassals of the king. In this way, there could be management of them, and their number become thinned. This I say would be true policy; and the Spaniards might then make some stock-farms for the breeding of cattle, and be there to assist the many vessels that are wrecked all the way along from Carlos to the Province of Sotoriva, in which is the

\* "—— shippes without decks, which the Spanyardes call Caravelas."—*Lok's Translation of* PETER MARTYR.



port of San Agustin, and river of San Mateo.<sup>(KK)</sup> There the Lutherans of France had made a fort, and found a nook whence to plunder as many ships as should come from Terra-Firma, whether from Mexico, or Peru, or from other parts; which they did, and retired to that river of San Mateo, where resides the perfidious cacique of Sotoriva, Alimacani,<sup>(LL)</sup> and of other places, his dependencies. Midway up the river San Mateo, sixty leagues inland, is another cacique, having an independent sovereignty, and being seignor of his land, whose name is Utina; and Saravay, and Moloa,<sup>(MM)</sup> and many others are his vassals, until coming to Nayaguaca, in the land of Ais, which lies towards Cañaveral, so called by our pilots who sail thither. With these two caciques Pero Melendez made treaties of friendship. They have no gold, silver, or pearls; their people are poor, very cunning and false, and great archers. They go naked, like the rest of whom I have spoken before.

By way of this River San Mateo, one may go to Tocobaga, on the other side of Florida, to the west; I do not mean all the way by the river, but in this manner: Enter over the bar of the San Mateo, and arrive at Zaravay, which is fifty or sixty leagues in the interior up the river, or at the Province of Utina, and there disembark, keeping a westerly course from town to town, until coming upon the people of Cañogacola, subjects of Tocovaga; and thence upon the country of Tocovaga itself, which lies within on another large river,\* where Soto was, and where he died.

With this I will end, and say no more; for, if the conquest of that country were about to be undertaken, I would give no further account of it than I have rendered. Its subjugation is befitting His Majesty, for the security of his armadas that go to Peru, New Spain, and other parts of the Indies, which pass, of necessity, along that shore and channel of the Vahama, where many vessels are wrecked, and many persons killed; for the Indians are powerful archers, and oppose them: and because of this, I say, it is well to have a small fort for the protection of that channel, with some income for its repair, and the maintenance of soldiers as a garrison in it, that might be drawn from Mexico, Peru, the Island of Cuba, and all the rest of the Indies.

\* HERRERA, Dec. I., Lib. IX., Cap. XII., § 2.



Thus much should be done; and another thing also—to go in search of pearls, for there is no other wealth in that country. So, I conclude, and as this account may become important, I sign it.\*

## HERNANDO DESCALANTE FONTANEDA.

### MEMORANDA.

[Connected with the foregoing narrative, on a loose sheet of paper, which serves as a cover to it, is the following:—]

*a.* Columbus discovered the Islands of Yucayo and Achiti; a part of Florida was discovered by other persons, residents of Santo Domingo.<sup>(88)</sup>

The islands of the Lucayos are made up of three groups, in this wise: First, the islands of the Bahama; second, the islands of the Organos; third, the islands of the Martires, which have their confines on the west in certain *cayos* (keys),† the Tortugas, formed of sand, and for this reason are not to be seen from a distance, as is the case with all the coasts on the Bahama Channel, so that many vessels are lost on the islands of the Tortugas and the Martires.

Havana is towards the south; Florida is towards the north; and in going from the shore of Havana, Island of Cuba, to the main, are these islands of the Bahama and the Organos,<sup>(60)</sup> and the islands of the Martires and the Tertugas. There is a channel at the widest part, of twenty leagues, between the Havana and the Martires; and thence to Florida there are fourteen leagues; between the islands that lie towards Spain, or rather towards the east, and by the widest part of this passage from them towards the west, there are forty leagues of distance. Many shoals and deep channels exist among them; but there is no

\* The passage marked *d* in the Memoranda appears to have been withdrawn for this sentence.

† From the Lucayan word *cay* the Spaniards make “cayo,” from which comes the English “key.”





passage for ships, or even for brigs, although they are smaller; there are passage-ways for nothing larger than canoes, and those are to the east and northeast. To the westward, to come from Havana and go to Florida, there is a passage; but none to come to Spain, except by the principal channel of Bahama, which is between the Martires and the Havana, the islands of the Yucayos and the Point of Cañaberal; and no other way can be found to make the distance shorter. To bring the course more direct, it might be made through the middle of Florida; but not with vessels only, but by sea and land, through the wide River of Tocobaga to the River San Mateo, the vessels relieving each other on one and the other side to come to Spain.\*

#### ANOTHER MEMORANDUM.

*b.* I will next state generally some things of Florida, and of a river that is called Jordan, in its northern part. We will also speak of that portion of it to the west, where Hernando de Soto died, the Captain Salinas, and also Francisco de Reinoso, and where certain friars were lost, and others made prisoners, some of whom I afterwards saw alive and in captivity. We will then go on to describe the habits, food, and raiment of the Indians of Abalachi, and other places below it, which are Mogoso, Tocobaga, Osiquevede, Carlos, Ais, and Sonsobe; and of many others will I speak, though not of all. Of each subject I will treat apart, under a separate head; and to begin, I will put forth the foregoing chapter concerning the islands of the Lucayos and the Martires, dwelling-places of the Indians.

*c.* The men of Abalachi go naked, and the women have waistbands of the straw that grows from trees, which is like wool, of which I have given some account before; and they eat deer, wolves, woolly cattle,<sup>(PP)</sup> and many other animals. They collect certain tributes of base gold, mixed with fine, and many colored buckskins. In a river belonging to this people are pearls, which have been noticed. They are archers; but by sending woollen cloth to them, by an experienced

\* This section is repeated in nearly the same words by HERRERA, Dec. I., Lib. IX., Cap. XII.



hand and capable linguist, their friendship may be easily won. They are the best Indians in Florida; superior to those of Tocobaga, Carlos, Ais, Tegesta, and the other countries I have spoken of in their succession, as far as the river called Jordan, and of which I have hereinbefore correctly set forth every thing concerning them.

The people of Abalachi<sup>(QQ)</sup> are subject to those of Olagale, Mogoso,<sup>(RR)</sup> and others towards the region of the ridge of Aite, who are the most wealthy Indians, and the places they occupy are of the most value. I was two years among them, in search of base gold mixed with fine,<sup>(SS)</sup> but on all the coast of which I shall speak hereafter in this memorial, there is no base gold to be found, much less any pure; for that which the natives have is from the vessels which are wrecked in passing from New Spain and Peru, when storms overtake them in the Channel of the Bahama, and drive them on Cañaveral, or on the Martires—of which the *Cabo de Martires* is called Chichijaga—as far down as the Tertugas, which are opposite to them, and the Havana is also on the south.

d. And the character of every thing, and the substance of all, I have herein set forth: but I have not mentioned all the towns; for they have a variety of names, which I cannot remember. And with so much I pause.



# NOTES

BY

## THE TRANSLATOR.

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In reading the Indian words, the letter

e	is to be sounded like the English <i>a</i> in <i>day</i> ,
i	<i>i</i> in <i>marine</i> ,
o	<i>o</i> in <i>go</i> ,
u	<i>u</i> in <i>rule</i> ,
y	<i>y</i> in <i>yoke</i> ,
a	<i>a</i> in <i>far</i> ,
â	<i>a</i> in <i>daw</i> ,
ă	<i>u</i> in <i>gun</i> , and
ŋ nasal,	somewhat like the <i>n</i> in <i>link</i> .

(<sup>A</sup>) Single islands, with these names respectively, are on a map of the year 1500, made by the navigator JUAN DE LA COSA. Their size and position indicate to my eye the Gran-Cayco and the Mariguana.—See *De Orbe Novo*, Dec. III., Lib. VII., also Muñoz.

(<sup>B</sup>) Long since depopulated, as it appears, to supply divers in the pearl fisheries of Paria and the gold washings of Española.—HERRERA.

(<sup>C</sup>) These islets, the appearance of which suggested a name for the whole chain of islands, have received from the Spaniards the distinctive appellation of *Las Mucaras*,—a Lucayan, or provincial word, for rocks a little above the surface of the land or water. (*Diccionario Provincial*, por ESTEBAN PICHARDO: Habana, 1849.) BERNARD ROMANS says, they are seven in number, and that mangrove and blackwood bushes grow on them. They are situate over against the south-east promontory of the Peninsula; the middlemost of them being the highest, called *Cabeza de los Martires* by the Spaniards; “infamous for many shipwrecks,” says HEYLYN, “but of great observation amongst seafaring men,” because, on seeing them, they know that they have entered the Straits of Florida.—*Cosmographie*: London, 1652.





(D) As Ponz de Leon passed along the eastern coast of Florida, he inquired the name of the country; and the people of each district gave him a different one, until he thought they jested with him; but in the end they answered his importunities by telling him that it was called *Cauti6*,—a name that was given to it by the Lucayans, because the inhabitants covered somewhat of their persons with plaited palm-leaves.—HERRERA: Dec. I., Lib. IX., Cap. XI.

In the year 1568, when the favorite wife of Satouriona was placed in the hands of Gourgues as a hostage, she had on no other apparel than this of the *Tillandsia usneoides*; yet, as reads the English translation of the account given by LAUDONNIÈRE, her lord was "Monarch of the confines of the River May, which hath under his obeysance thirtie other Paracoussies." It was observed, however, during a voyage made a little time before by Sir JOHN HAWKINS, that "the women also for their apparell use painted skinnies, but most of them gownes of moss somewhat longer than our mosse, which they sowe together artificially, and make the same surplesse wise, wearing their haire down to their shoulders like the Indians."—HAKLUYT, *Voyages and Discoveries*. The Spaniards found the like material used for clothing by the females of Malhado, (Santa Rosa Island,) in the year 1529, and which LE MOYNE, some thirty years later, pictured as the dress of the sex on the eastern coast of Florida.—*Naufragios de ALVAR NUÑEZ CABEZA DE VACA*.—*Brevis Narratio*.

(E) These appear to have been the manati, or else some animal that no longer exists in the waters of the coasts of the Peninsula. In JEFFERYS's *Geographical Description of Florida*, printed in the year 1763, it is stated that the Reef then abounded with great plenty of seal; and the *Stenorhynchus wilkianus* is found off the southern shore of Jamaica, on Pedro Keys. *Lobos marinos* are thus mentioned in the itinerary of Ponz of the year twelve: "On Tuesday, the 21st of June, the Spaniards arrived at the islands which they called Tortugas, because in a little time at night they captured on one of them one hundred and sixty turtle, and might have taken more had they wished them. They likewise took fourteen sea-wolves, and killed many albatrosses and other birds to the number of five thousand."—HERRERA.

(F) The large cray-fish of the Florida Keys are of the flavor and size of the lobster. Their appropriate region is among the corals; they have been seen only one or two hundred miles north of the Capes.—WILLIAMS.

(G) *Lactophrys sex-cornutus*, Mitchell; called Kuckle-fish by the fishermen of the Bahamas and the Florida Reef.



(H) "Wildcats and foxes are rare. Opossums and *raccoons* extremely numerous. The latter, in particular, about the sea-coasts live on fish and oysters, and become lumps of fat."—*The Territory of Florida*, by JOHN LEE WILLIAMS: New York, 1837.

(I) No doubt the *Guaiacum officinale* (*lignum vitæ*) is meant. It covers, says WILLIAMS, the higher points of the interior keys.

(J) The depth of water was ascertained to be sufficient for the passage of the India fleets by the Adelantado of Florida, Pedro Melendez de Avilés, in the year 1566.—*Ensayo Cronologico para la Historia General de la Florida*, por D. Gabriel de Cardenas z Cano (BARCIA). Madrid: 1723.

(K) Carlos, or Calos, is explained to me as an abbreviation of the Chahta words *ka-la lu-sa*, which signify "strong (and) black." I am inclined to think that Coosa, the name of a river of Alabama, and of a tribe that formerly lived on its banks, have the same meaning. CHARLEVOIX, who was wrecked on an island near the south-eastern coast of the Peninsula in the year 1722, speaks of the inhabitants there as having skins the darkest red, *plus rouge*, of any Indians that he had seen.

The name "Carlos" first appears in the journal of the voyage of Juan Ponz de Leon, made in the year 1512, as given in HERRERA. He heard it used by the Indians on the coast where he landed in sailing to the north-east from the Tortugas Islands. As the place was near a stream, it was perhaps in the Bay of Calos, and not far from the residence of the chief, as that, in 1566, was but two leagues distant from the entrance to a river. Francisco Reynoso was in command of forty men at the town in the year 1666. He put up a fortified house there, and raised a cross before it for the adoration of the savages. A church was soon built, and a mission established. Mendez named the settlement San Antonio de Padua. There are reasons for believing that it was on an island.—BARCIA.

(L) It is put down on a map in HERRERA, and, as appears from BARCIA, stood at the mouth of the Miami River.

(M) Of this second and more distant lake, the *O-ki cho-bi*, "water big" of the Hitchitis, and the *We-wa thlok-ko* of the Múskokis, having the same signification, we have an early account in the *Second Voyage* of LAUDONNIÈRE, as he received



it from a Spaniard brought to him by the Indians while at Fort Caroline, in the years 1564-'65.

"One of these two declared unto me, that he had served him (Calos) a long time for a messenger; and that often times by his commandment he had visited a king named Oatheacqua, distant from Calos foure or five dayes iourney, which always remained his faithfull friend: but that in the midway there was an Island situate in a great lake of fresh water, named Serropé, about five leagues in bignesse,\* abounding with many sorts of fruites specially in Dates, which grow on the Palme trees, whereof they make a wonderfull traffique; yet not so great as of a kinde of root, whereof they make a kinde of meale, so good to make bread of, that it is impossible to eate better, and that for fifteen leagues about, all the countrey is fed therewith: which is the cause that the inhabitants of the Isle gaine of their neighbours great wealth and profit: for they will not depart with this root without they be well payed for it. Besides that, they are taken for the most warlike men of all that countrey, as that made good prooffe when the king of Calos having made alliance with Oatheacqua† was deprived of Oatheacqua's daughter, which he had promised to him in marriage. \* \* \* The Spanyard that made this relation, tolde mee that after this defeat he went to dwell with Oatheacqua, and had bene with him full eight yeares, even untill the time that he was sent unto me. The place of Calos is situate upon a river which is beyond the Cape of Florida, forty or fifty leagues towards the Southwest: and the dwelling of Oatheacqua is on this side the Cape toward the North, in a place which we call in the chart *Cummauerál*, which is in 28 degrees."

(N) The *Zamia integrifolia* is native to Florida, from a few miles south of Saint Augustine along the coast to Cape Sable; but it only prospers in the thick shelter of "hammocks," or in the pine lands where shaded by palmettos or bushes. All attempts to cultivate it in field, or grove, have proved unavailing.

The flour, prepared from the root, is called by the Seminoles *kun-ti hat-ki*, "white bread," to distinguish it from the red bread made from the China briar-root, *Smilax hastata*, which they call *kun-ti tsah-ti*.

(O) *Apios tuberosa*; the "mud potatoe," *lák-chăk a-he*, or "reed potatoe," *kăṅ-shăk a-he*, of the Chahtas. It grows large, and in abundance, near Ahapopka Lake, which receives its name from the Măskokí *ah-hah*, "bog potatoe," and *pahp-ki-ta* "to eat."

\* "Grand environ de cinq lieues."—BASANIER.

† The name is nearly that of the Sa-uan-ua for "muskrat"—*o-thas-kăa*.





(P) "Crocodiles, which by an abuse of language we call *lagartos*."—*Gen. Historia de las Indias* . . . por BARTOLOME DE LAS CASAS . . . Lib. III., Cap. XXII., MS.

"Crocodiles, that were so celebrated in Egypt, which we here call *lagartos de agua*."—TORQUEMADA.

(Q) He speaks now only of the group of the Yucayos named the Martires, and of the extremity of them, probably what is now called Cape Florida. (See the second paragraph of the second section in the Memoranda marked a.)

On the passage of the fleet of Ayllón to Española from the northwest, the pinnace conveying his body was wrecked on the coast of Florida—"that sepulchre in the ocean sea, where other captains and governors before and since have gone, or been driven, to a resting-place."—OVIEDO, 2a P. MS.

(R) Spelled Chicora, and Chicoria, by the Spaniards, Chicola and Chiquola, by the French. But for what some Sa-wan-wa Indians (Shawnees) have told me of the name of a tribe among them, the *Kui-kuo-la*, I should doubt there having been any such town or people. René Laudonnière, while in the River of Port Royal, in the year 1562, on being told by the Indians that Chiquola was the greatest lord of that country, showed them the parts of the heavens, to the intent of inquiring in what quarter of it that chief dwelt, when one of them directly pointed towards the north. They described the people there as numerous; the city as having gold, silver, and pearls in plenty, and without value; the houses as inclosed, although it could not be understood with what. The captain supposed it to be on the River Jordan. Somewhat in accordance with this story, LE MOYNE has drawn it, encircled partly by trees, and partly by a stream. In my view, he has placed it on the right bank of the North Edisto, soon after the river is formed by the confluent waters of the Dawho and Wadmelow. OVIEDO, who was well informed as to the history of the expedition of Ayllón, made in the year 1526, says that the Spaniards, after the desertion of the guides they took with them, could never hear further of a province, port, river, or people, having the name of Chicora, no more than they could of any other in that list of countries and islands the Adelantado had been empowered to explore and colonize, in every name of which, before setting out, he thought he had a treasure. This authority may be thought to make way for receiving the explanation of Fontaneda, repeated by HERRERA, that the name is a corruption of another; words, in such cases, badly understood, or spoken lightly, have come afterwards to arrest the attention and exhaust the ingenuity of men. Some illicit slavers, hastily returning from a newly visited shore, where they remained only long enough to



entrap some unsuspecting natives, can hardly be expected to bring back such information as is to be attained only with opportunity, leisure, and the use of language. Ayllón, we must bear in mind, had not the means for carrying on the undertaking he solicited: but it may well be imagined that he would obtain them in abundance for an enterprise that held out the prospect of early returns; such to the adventurer as the discovery of a passage-way to India might be expected to yield, and the easy production of silk to the peaceful laborer; for Chicora promised these, and happily united to such advantages a soil rich in gold, with waters prolific in pearls. The account of its products, its wealth, the customs and superstitions of its people, received from him by PETER MARTYR, is as fanciful to my mind as another enrolled by GOMARA and HERRERA, and shared in, if not entirely made up, by Don Francisco de Chicora, the Christianized captive, who managed, as the result proved, to turn it all to account in regaining for himself and his companions their forests, and it may be, avenging in some degree the perfidy by which it is said they had suffered. Oviedo had tried in vain to convince the Licentiate of the wildness of these tales; but he would trust, he said, the false Adalid as soon as the son he had begotten—forgetting, although good jurist he was, reflects the writer, that the captive is free to make use of every expedient that offers reasonable prospect to a way that may take him back to his friends and freedom. Orista, according to BARCIA, was situated on the River Santa Elena, three leagues from its mouth.—*2a P. de la Historia General y Natural de las Indias*. . . MS. *Ensayo Cro.*: año 1566. The royal patent issued to Ayllón, is published in NAVARRETE'S *Coleccion de los Viages Menores*.

<sup>(81)</sup> Nearly the entire paragraph has been used by HERRERA.—Dec. I., Lib. IX., Cap. XII. Vainly do many think, he says, that the river is the same now called Jordan, which is at the Point of Santa Elena, without reflecting that the Castilians bestowed that name on it.—Caps. X., XI., y XII. They came upon a country called Chicora and Gualdape, which is in 32°, now called Santa Elena and River Jordan.—Dec. II., Lib. X., Cap. VI. OVIEDO, writing of the next voyage of the Spaniards thither, says that they landed at a river they called Jordan, to the east of the Province of Florida, on the shore of the same land; thence, after a few days, they removed west, to a great river called Gualdape.

In the year 1693, a reconnaissance of a part of the western coast of Florida was made by Sigüenza Gongora, in the frigate Guadalupe, under Admiral De Pes, by order of the Viceroy of New Spain. The southernmost of the streams, which empties into the eastern arm of the Bay of Panzacola (ancient Achusi\*),

\* *Hück' ushi*, "River young," in Chahta.



was called after the commander of the sloop in consort, *Jordan*, a name that unexplained in its origin may lead to a supposition that at some time it has been misplaced.—BARCIA. This region of country, I am told, continues among the Chahtas to retain the name of a tribe that once occupied it, Pan-che ok-la, "The (long) Hair People." To the eastward of this, and not distant from it, CABEZA DE VACA remarked the flowing and very long hair of five or six chiefs who came off from the shore in canoes to the boats of Narvaez.

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(<sup>17</sup>) Of the educated Chahtas, to whom I am indebted for the explanations herein given of names in the language of their people, Peter P. Pitchlynn states with great confidence that this word is a contraction of *o-ka la-ka-le*, the signification of which is "water margin." Olagale is probably the Ocale of which Soro and RANGEL write, and the Cale and Ocali of others. It also appears to be the Etocale of Biedma; but the word, as he has spelled it, has a different meaning, which is, "lay on the fire." On the map of LE MOYNE is to be found Eloqualé. The town or settlement could not have been remote from the present Ocala.

(<sup>18</sup>) The phrase "reedy water little," rendered into the language of the Chahtas, is *kon-shak ok' ushi*. The growth of cane on the Alabama, and the residence of the "Conchaques," a Mobilian\* tribe of Indians, at an early day on its upper waters, might point out that river as one likely to bear such a name; but from what is said afterwards, there can be no doubt that the Sawane is the river intended, whether it be rightly called or not.

I will observe here, lest an opportunity where I can do so with equal propriety should not again occur, that in looking for this name on old maps I have noticed that the Chatahoche, or some river represented to be in about the same place it occupies, once bore the name "Calistobole." The Chalita words *ka-li to-bo-li* mean "spring boiling." In the Caribe tongue, "a fountain" is *taboulikani*. From the analogy of several words in these languages, having like sounds and import, there is a little ground for thinking that the Caribes of the Antilles, and the ancient people of Florida were in some way connected. The assertion of ROCHEFORT is more precise, that, according to tradition, there was a removal a long time ago of some of the inhabitants from the upper part of the

\* Chahta ears discern no meaning for this name in the way it is usually written. Mauvila and Maville, as it was anciently spelled, disclose it to be *Im' a uih-le*, which Israel Folsom renders literally "they (who were) there robbed." Although the tribe belongs to the Mās-ko-ki confederacy, it speaks the language of the Chahtas. It is called alike by both nations *Ma-vi-la*.







Peninsula to several islands of the south. To entitle him to have made more than a fortunate hit in what he says, the examples he gives of a common tongue need to be verified; the more so since the digression which contains them in his work on the "Apalachites" and "Cofachites," is otherwise a fiction. The framework in which his picture is stretched, to give it the semblance of truth, is taken from Garcilaso and the accounts by the French of their occupation of Florida. Some names may be borrowed from the maps of the day; others appear to be those of mere fancy. Our knowledge of the geography and physical character of the country renders the story often improbable, and sometimes absurd. His informant, not satisfied with giving us the contentions of these people in ages before the discovery of Florida, which account might have passed well enough by itself as a dark tradition, "one of the most curious and inquisitive Persons in the World" has brought his tale into the historical era, where he relates much that is contrary to authentic accounts, and even claims to have visited Florida, which he speaks of as a country of mountains, valleys, and torrents!

P. S. I have had an opportunity of comparing the first and fourth editions of the *Histoire Naturelle et Morale des Iles Antilles de l'Amérique*, by ROCHEFORT, printed severally in 1658 and 1681. There have been two editions between them, those of 1665, 1667, according to Rich, who says that the fourth publication appears to be the same as the second, which, he also states, has nearly eighty pages more than the first. The third was printed at Lyon, with a different title; but the three others were printed at Rotterdam, by Arnould Leers. The consideration of one long letter published in the last, from the second edition, will suffice for so much of the book as respects Florida. It is in French, is addressed to the author, and is dated at "Melilot," on the 6th of January, 1660, the second year after the first publication, and was written by an overseer of the English families living among the Apalaches! It was accompanied by a dissertation on everything curious in the country, for the purpose of being put, if thought worthy, into the next edition of the work. There were pictures also with it of the celebrated mountain of "Olaimey," of the Royal City of "Melilot," and the sensitive plant. The contributor expresses his great satisfaction at reading the very faithful account given on the authority of Mr. Bristok, and mentions that having made known to the Indians, from the copy of the book he received, what is said of the origin of the Caribes, of the history of themselves, their language, manners, religion, wars, tradition, and country, they applauded it for its truth, and declare that to have said less would have been injustice to their nation. "Rest assured," says Doctor Edouard Graeves, at the close, "that our Florida will unfold without reluctance all that she has of flowers to adorn the wreath that is due for your History, and that our plains, our lakes, our forests, and our



loftiest mountains have not an inhabitant who does not admire your work and put up prayers for your prosperity." A folding plate presents at a view the great church, the temple of the sun, the palace of the roytolet, and a passage between Andes from the Province of "Bemarin" to the Kingdom of Apalache! The sensitive-plant, compared with other objects, has the size of a sun-flower, and bears the same appearance.

In the last edition is an original treatise on the state of the English settlements in North America, which the readers of colonial history may find it profitable to examine.

At the end of the volume is a vocabulary of the Caribe language, which is stated to have been gotten from Fr. Raymond (Breton); and so much is probably correct. His dictionary was not printed until the year 1665.

The *History of the Caribby-Islands*, by John Davies, printed at London in the year 1666, is a translation of the first edition, and contains the vocabulary in English and Caribe.

(v) Tocobaga is not mentioned in any of the known narratives of the expedition of Soto. The name is on early maps; the southern limit of the province resting on the Sawane River, and the western on the Gulf. The Bay of Espiritu Santo was supposed to be in the same latitude, and is sometimes placed at the mouth of the river. In the account BARCIA gives of the visit made to Tocobaga by Mendez, in the year 1567, from Calos, at the time he enforced peace between the kings of these territories, the distance is stated at fifty leagues, which usually represents about so many miles. The town was at the entrance of a river, twenty leagues from the coast, on an arm of the sea.\* The ships of the admiral were piloted up to it in the night time by an Indian of Calos. This bay should be what is now called Charlotte Harbor.

The words *to-co-ba a' chi-li* are Chahta, and signify, in their succession, "gourd place bringing forth," or Country-where-gourds-are-produced.

(w) The Mississippi, the Coosa, the Sawane, and an imaginary stream flowing into Espiritu Santo Bay, form but one river in the mind of Fontaneda. He has just spoken of a country about which the soldiers of Soto on their arrival in New-Spain gave such pleasing accounts, that, some time afterwards, when the Vice-Roy Don Luis Velasco was ordered by the King to conquer and colonize

\* A stream, "Flumen Pacis," is represented on the map of LE MOYNE that well answers for this river, which possibly may have been so called at that time. Have we in the name the original of "Peas Creek?"



Florida in anticipation of a movement of the like nature by the government of France, he sent an army thither, in the year 1559, the most formidable by far of any that up to that time had sailed to the south-eastern shores of North America. The number of troops is stated to have been fifteen hundred—six companies of infantry and as many of cavalry. Six captains and others, who had been in the country as soldiers, or cast there by casualties, returned in that expedition from Mexico and Vera Cruz to Achusi and Coosa.

The Indian killed was a chief of Agacaleyquen, according to Garcilaso.

The place of the death of the invader, it is hardly necessary to say, was by the Mississippi River, where his followers were driven—observes one in whose veins flowed with equal pride the blood of Goth and Inca—to a burial like that performed by their ancestors in another hemisphere six-and-thirty ages before for Alaric.

(X) A place with a similar name visited by Mendez in exploring the San Mateo, now Saint John's River, was much too distant to fall within the dominions of Calos. It stood on the eastern bank, twelve leagues from Saint Augustine, and seven leagues from a position, I understand to be meant, nearly opposite to the mouth of the Oklawaha River.\* Reducing each quantity two fifths, the nearer points meet not far from Palatka.† In this manner we may ascertain with some exactness the site of Calabay. Again: the distance from the mouth of the Oklawaha to that of the San Mateo, is stated at fifty leagues, when by the winding of the river, it can now be seen by map to be about ninety or a hundred miles. This difference further shows the rule to be a proper one for the estimate.

In the year 1566, the Chief Calabay rebelled against Utina, and was in close friendship with Saturiona.

I once asked Pitchlynn the meaning of a certain ancient name of the Saint John's River. Having corrected my pronunciation of it to *Il-la-ka*, he answered me slowly: "It hath its own way, is alone and contrary to every other."

(Y) The name is on many of the ancient maps: the place was probably not distant from Cape Romano, called on the map in HERRERA, *Pta de muspa*. The

\* *Ok' la-wa-ha* is Chahta, and means "waters many."

† From *Wak-āk pa-lat-ka*, "Cow swimming;" a place at which cattle a few years ago were driven across the river. Another modern name of the same character, Picolata, supposed to mean "canoe crossing," can also be nearly made out from the Māskoki by the translation, *pith-lo te-ka*.





promontory extending thence northward to the River Kalusa is marked on some Spanish charts *La Muspa*.

(Z) Unless this be intended for Tequesta, which was also the name of a district and of a cacique, it is not in this list of towns. Calos, the town in which the king resided, appears likewise to be omitted. The chiefs of Florida took their title, or public name, from the place or territory they governed; and I suggest that these towns, at least to the Spaniards, were known by the names applicable to their chiefs. Could we rely on this, we should probably find Tampa, "a large town," the first spoken of, to be the same as Calos.

(AA) I consider that he has now given the names of the towns on the circumference of Calos by the sea; that he proceeds next to speak of such as are in the interior; and afterwards of those on the Martires, a portion, it must be remembered he considers them, of the Yucayos.

My monitors say, that all these words are eminently Chahta in their sounds, but that sometimes they are too imperfectly preserved to be understood, or that their sense can be detected only in part.

(BB) The first town may have been on the key known to the Spaniards by the Indian name *Matacombe*,\* of which the inhabitants were Catholics in the year 1697; and the other on Matanzas, the islet we call Indian Key. There are marks, however, on many others of the Martires, showing that they have been occupied; but of any thing more of them it may be ever vain to inquire. The remains of stone hovels a few years back on *Cayo Hueso* (Key-West) and *Cayo Vacas*, marked the latest residences of the "Caloosas," before they were finally driven from Florida by the Māskokālkis, in the year 1765, when they went to Havana.—BARCIA, ADAIR, ROMANS.

In Charlotte Harbor, and along the coast until getting below the mouth of the Kalusa-hatche, are many fertile islands of wild beauty that were once numerously inhabited by Indians. Among the names of them are three at least of the olden time, Muspa, Toampe, and Calos.—WILLIAMS.

(CC) The object of Melendez had been to bring about a marriage between Don Pedro, the heir, and Doña Antonia, the sister of Calos. He had taken the

\* There is a possibility that this name may be a corruption, made by the Indians, of the Spanish words *mata hombre*, "kill man," which would be near the translation of the original name *Cuchiŋga*, according to the meaning ascribed to it by Fontaneda, but which name has, perhaps, changed place in the text with *Guarungunre*. See the note at page 12.



greatest pains to Christianize and bring them to the Spanish interest. The fierce brother scoffed at the religious ceremonies, and was ever intent on military enterprise and bloodshed. It is remarkable that BARCIA, who states this policy of the Adelantado, has made no record of the death of the chief, nor hinted a reason for the mission. He is represented, in the year 1566, to be a man of about five and twenty years of age, and of good physical proportions. When Ponz de Leon visited the country, in the year 1512, its chief bore the same name.

(DD) The position of Yeaga may be found on a Spanish map in the atlas of THOS. JEFFERYS, published at London in 1768; that of Ais is readily ascertained from accounts written in different ages, ROMANS stating it with positiveness and precision, and giving to the word the meaning of "deer," nearly that of the Chahta *issi*; for the Spaniards also spelled the name *Is*.

A Quaker of Pennsylvania, JONATHAN DICKENSON, who was wrecked with his family at the entrance of "Hoe" (Jeaga), in the year 1696, and was also at that of Ais, which he writes "Jece," has given among the recitals of suffering vivid pictures of the barbarism and terrific character of the natives of those parts.

"About the Eighth or Ninth hour, came two *Indian Men* (being naked, except a small piece of plaited Work of Straws, which just hid their private Parts, and fastened behind like a Horse-Tail, in likeness made of a sort of Silk Grass) from the Southward, running fiercely and foaming at the Mouth, having no Weapons but their Knives, \* \* \*: Their Countenance was very furious and bloody: They had their Hair tied in a Roll behind, in which stuck two Bones, Shaped one like a Broad Arrow, the other a Spear Head; \* \* \*: And whilst these stood with a wild, furious Countenance, looking upon us; I thought with myself to give them some Tobacco and Pipes, which they greedily snatched from me, and making a snuffing Noise, like a wild Beast, turned their backs upon us, and run away.

"Some raw *Deer-Skins* were brought in, and given to my Wife, and Negro-Woman; and to us Men, such as the *Indians* wear, being a piece of Plaitwork of Straws, wrought of divers Colours, and of a triangular Figure, with a Belt of four Fingers broad of the same, wrought together, which goeth about the Waste; and the Angle of the other having a thong to it, coming between the Legs, and strings to the end of the Belt; all three meeting together, and fastened behind with a *Horse-tail*, or a Bunch of *Silk-grass* exactly resembling it, of a Flaxen Color, this being all the Apparel or Covering that the Men wear; and thus they Clothed us."

"Jeaga" may be the Chahta word *hy-a-ka*, meaning "back (open) country." It has undergone many changes through Jega, Goga, and others, to Hobe and Jove, which survives in Jupiter, the name of an inlet. Ais was farther north,



and on Indian River. The first letter of the name I believe is from the Spanish *la*, in the same way that I have suspected, erroneously it appears, *Apelache* to be made from it and *Palache*, which is once so spelled in the *Naufraños* of ALVAR NUÑEZ and once in the *Relaçam Verdadeira*, both printed near the middle of the sixteenth century. "Nickaleer," the only Indian word that occurs in the relation of Dickenson, was one frequently repeated to the unfortunate strangers by the savages, sometimes with menaces, and was understood as asking them if they were Englishmen. *I-ka-lier* I find in the *Le-nâ-pe* (Delaware) language, and signifies "go away," a meaning more applicable than the other to the occasions and manner in which it was used.

(EE) The Chelakis, according to ADAIR, distinguished the two parts of their territory by the low country and the mountains, which they termed *Otali* (the equivalent of what he writes "Ottare," for there is really no *r* in the language), and this may be the *Otapali* of the text. The region was about the head branches of the Tennessee River.

But Fontaneda says, a little way back, that, according to what the Indians state, sixty leagues from Santa Elena towards the north are regions of gold and copper; and that along the shores of a river and of lakes are towns, among which are *Otapali* and *Olagatano*. If we could be allowed to suspect that his informants stated so many *sleeps*, and to calculate the travel in going thither at about thirty miles the day, we should clearly have to understand the *Ontanâgon* River of the *Ochipeways* to be meant, and Lake Superior, into which it flows, as among the lakes. The region in which they are must have been one of fame, supplying, as it did, the inhabitants of half the northern continent with copper, their most precious commodity for many ages, which they shaped into ornaments and weapons. Cabeza de Vaca and his companions, in their travel from the *Tombigby*\* to the Tennessee River, in the year 1536, received a bell of that metal from the Indians; and asking them whence it came, they were told from the north, and that copper was abundant where it was got. \* \* \* \*

\* From *iti*, "wood," *ombe*, "box," *ik'-bi*, "make;" a modern name, according to Pitchlynn, who received an explanation of its origin from his father, a Scotchman, who married among the *Chahtas* and remained with them to the time of his death, a period of near three quarters of a century. A Frenchman, it seems, once came and settled on the river; and, because of his occupation, the Indians called him *I-tom-bik'-be*, "trunk-maker." The name was afterwards applied by the Whites to the place at which he lived, and in time became extended to the stream. The natives who dwelt by its waters had known it only by the familiar name *Hûcha*, "the river."





From what is said further on, the Cañegacola were subject to Tocobaga, and lived somewhere between Lake Orange and the Sawane; for I think the belief of Fontaneda constantly is, that Espiritu Santo Bay is the outlet to that river, if indeed he does not confound it with that of Tocobaga, as he never once speaks of the existence of more than one bay on the coast.

(FF) "Ichcahuipiles;" a cuirass of cotton the thickness of the finger, anciently used by the Mexicans.—*Monarchia Indiana*. It is "ichcauipilli" in the *Vocabulario en lengua Castellana y Mexicana* by MOLINA. Mexico: 1571.

(GG) This disaster is no doubt that placed by BARCIA in the year 1553. The number of wrecks is not stated: a small ship made her way back to Vera Cruz, and three or four vessels arrived in Spain. The number of persons on board was more than a thousand; priests, "soldiers, passengers, merchants, women, and children." Three hundred landed in safety; but nearly all lost their lives, many by the Indians, others by privations and hardships to which they were exposed in attempting to reach Mexico.

In the year 1564, Pedro Menendez Avilés asked permission of the King to seek his only son; and soon after was appointed to the *adelantamiento* of Florida. He sailed the next year; and having broken up the French settlement of Fort Caroline on the Saint John's River, he went in search of Don Juan at the Bay of Carlos, and found that he was no longer living. It was probably at this time, in the year 1566, that Fontaneda was relieved from captivity.

The transport spoken of a moment before, appears to have belonged to the same fleet; but, according to TORQUEMADA, escaped destruction. "In the year 1553, the flota that went from this country (New Spain) to the kingdom of Castile was cast away on the coast of Florida, and many persons were lost, with a large amount of riches; although the vessels of the Corsican Farfan and Jauregui escaped with those of others of light burthen. The Indians killed some friars: among them were Juan Mendez, a famous preacher, and Diego de la Cruz, Procurador of the Province, both Dominicans; also other persons of distinction and importance. They likewise killed Doña Catalina, widow of Juan Ponce de Leon, an *encomendero* of the town of Tecama, who was going to Spain, expelled for the murder of her husband. He was killed, it is said, by Bernardino de Bocanegra, a well known personage of this city (Mexico), one in the highest esteem and consideration: . . . but it is certain that, as God is witness and judge of all things (as he has spoken by his Prophet), he saw what man was ignorant of; and, thundering his process from his Divine Consistory, gave sentence as Judge, that she should die by the hand of the homicides of Florida, and that he should



suffer amidst the tumults of this city, although peradventure he was guiltless here."—*Monarchia Indiana*: 1<sup>a</sup> P., L. 5.

(iii) Mayarqua, says LAUDONNIÈRE, is about eighty leagues from Fort Caroline by the River May. LE MOYNE in his map places Mayarca on the peninsula formed by the lakes now called Dunn and George, and the Saint John's River. The French in their visits to Olata Ouae Utina sailed to Mayaca, and thence rowed to the dwelling of the Paracoussi, or marched thither, a distance of six leagues. Here we probably identify the principal body of water in the neighborhood with the Lake Mayaco or Macaco of some of the old writers.

(iii) This was the scene of Mendez's presence and exertions in the year 1566. He attempted to establish a post on the Atlantic coast as far north as the Chesapeake, then called the Bay of Santa Maria, and detached a captain with a command of forty men for that service. On the way two friars, whose energies had been softened by the luxuries of Peru, sought to convince the soldiers that the country to which they were going was one where it was impossible to live; and as it required no long sermon to satisfy them of finding hardships there, they took the vessels directly to Spain, whither they afterwards pretended they had been driven by storms from their destination.—BARCIA. STRACHY'S *Virginia*; written in the year 1612. MS.

(jj) The River of Santa Elena was come upon in the year 1520 by two caravels from Española in pursuit of slaves. The Jordan, if then known, was not so called until the year 1526, at the time that Lucas Vasquez de Ayllón led an expedition thither in person, when it took the name of his flag-ship which was lost at the entrance. He had left Puerto de Plata in the middle of July with six vessels, 500 men, and 80 or 90 horses, taking a direct course to the River Jordan. After remaining there some days, the people became dissatisfied with the country; and the Indians of the former voyage, who had been educated that they might show them the riches of that region, having abandoned them, it was agreed to proceed to the coast westwardly and plant the colony. They sailed along a level shore to the mouth of a great river with a powerful current called Gualdape. It was less than forty miles to the south of the River Jordan; the country about it was flat and low, and the neighboring ground miry.\* The camp was made on

\* The same authority says, however, that the entrance to the river was in latitude 33°, and so shoal that the ships could not have gone in had the tide not been rising; that the entrance they left was in 33° 40', and the distance from one to the other was forty or forty-five leagues.



the bank, and a settlement directly begun by the building of houses, probably the first put up by Europeans on the Atlantic coast of North America, and, so far as yet appears, on the southern shores of the United States. On the 18th of October the Adelantado after a short illness died: sickness and insubordination followed in the army: the greater number of those that died, perished by disease, and through the insufficiency of clothing and food; others, straying from the camp, fell by the hands of the natives. Not over one hundred and fifty lived to return. OVIEDO remarks, that this River and Province of "Guadalupe" are not named on the charts, not even traced; but that they exist, he says, there can be no doubt, from the many who to their misfortune have seen them, some of whom, persons of note, his fellow-citizens in Santo Domingo, are still living. As the Spanish writers have not so described these streams, or stated the position of the mouths, that we may now identify them or form any safe conjectures thereon, I have sought the information in foreign and later authorities.

The French in the year 1562, under Jean Ribault, settled on the Port Royal, and gave it that name for the size and beauty of the stream; the arm towards the north running up into the land as far as the River Jordan, according to the opinion of LAUDONNIÈRE, and what was known and understood afterwards, as he states, by some of the company who remained in the country.—BASANIER.

An English captain, in 1663, visited both rivers, and found the Jordan to be in latitude  $32^{\circ} 30'$ , four leagues or thereabout north-east from the Port Royal, which, he says, "by the Spaniards is called St. Ellens." The time at which this voyage was made, the correct descriptions of the bays and rivers that exist in nearly corresponding latitudes, with the finding of people by him in the country from Saint Augustine, also some countrymen of his on the rivers who had been among both the natives and Spaniards, are circumstances that entitle these statements to respect.—*Relation of WILLIAM HILTON*; reprinted among *Force's Historical Tracts*.

Supposing, then, these names to be restored to their proper objects, if we follow the course of Mendez in sailing northward along the coast, in the year 1566, as related in BARCIA, we shall look for the country of Gualé to the south of those rivers. The Island of that name is spoken of as on the sea, and as being four or five leagues in extent. The Indians passed from it to Santa Elena inland, by water, in two or three days; and the Adelantado in going from one to the other, outside the land, left his pinnace and sailed on shipboard. The French who had been left at Port Royal by Jean Ribault in 1562, coming to great want for food, heard of two chiefs to the south who might relieve their necessities. They found the distance thither five and twenty leagues along the coast; and they afterwards made the passage by going inland until coming at





the end of ten leagues to a fair and great river, thence behind islands to the residence of Ouadé, taking advantage of the tides and without exposure to the sea. The sound of this name with the difference of the letter *d* is rendered in the Spanish Gualé. The islands in my view most suited to these circumstances of position, and some favorable to Indian residence, are Saint Catharine's, about thirty miles from the Port Royal and Assabaw, some miles nearer. This name may be the same as Assapo, once a native town on the Gualé.\* The river described on the way thither is clearly the River *Belle à voir*, the last discovered by Jean Ribault in coming from the south along the coast before entering the Port Royal, and was afterwards the Sabina of the Spaniards; and then the Savannah of our times.

In the summer of 1540, thirteen years after the expedition of Ayllón had retired, the army of Soto came to the banks of the Savannah River from the south, and crossed over to the town of Cofitachequi. In unrolling there the bodies of some dead that had been preserved, the Spaniards discovered rosaries of glass beads upon them with crosses, and found hatchets, such as they recognised to be of the make of Vizcaya; whence they saw that they had probably come within the concession made to Ayllón. According to what was stated there, he died at the entrance distant two days' journey, where the army was broken up by dissension and wasted by disease, in the manner that OVIEDO and the author of the *Relaçam* concur in stating.

The large town, Talimeco, was near Cofitachequi;† and that may be the Tolomato in the Province of Gualé where the Vicar Padre de Corpa resided in the year 1597, when murdered by the Indians of his *Doctrina*, as related by TORQUEMADA, of which occurrence BARCIA gives the date.

(KK) Melendez had heard from the Indians that this river came out of a lake some thirty leagues wide, called Maimi, which, collecting the water of many streams flowing from the mountains of Apalache, discharged them in part southwardly by two opposite branches into the Gulf and sea; but, until examination showed the contrary, the Adelantado appears to have been more of the opinion that the River San Mateo ran an eastwardly course and took its rise in New

\* *Osapa* means "field," and *Koe (a) ili* "panther (where) died;" both in Chahta.

† Ta-li Min-ko, "Rock Chief," is Chahta. The structure of the other name will be found, on examination, to be like *To-co-ba a chi-li* (explained in the note V), and the words probably to have been *ko-fi a chi-li*, which signify, "The place where partridges lay." It is from this Cofitachequi that ROCHEFORT gets the name for the nation which he brings upon the "Apalachites." He seems to have picked it up in reading the *Historia de Soto* by the INCA.



Spain. (BARCIA.) Ribault had not so well understood the natives. "As we now demanded of them concerning y<sup>e</sup> land called Seuola, whereof some haue written not to bee farre from thence, and to bee situate within the lande, and toward the Sea called the South Sea. They shewed vs by signes that which we vnderstood well enough, that they might goe thither with their Boates (by riuers) in twentie days." (*Discoverie of Florida*, by JOHN RIBAUT.) The Indians probably only intended to be understood as saying, that persons could ascend the river in that time in canoes, and, by way of the Cacima Lake and the Everglades, go down the Caloosa-hatche to the Gulf of Mexico.

(11) The name of a chief under Satouriona, and also of the river north of the Saint John's, now known as the Nassau, which by the French was called the Seine. When the strangers built Fort Caroline, the village of the "paracoussi" was near it; but he subsequently removed some twenty or five-and-twenty leagues, in consequence of a strange accident—a large piece of peat bog kindled by lightning and consumed, which he supposed to be the work of artillery. It is observable that they mention no Indian name as that of the great river they were on.

This is the "Allimacany" of LAUDONNIÈRE, and the "Hallimacany" of GORGUE. It can well be the word *ali-mām-ma-kan-ue*, which means "stupendous;" one of the few instances among many Indian words, and some sentences, to be found in the memoirs belonging to the history of Florida of the first half of the sixteenth century, that appear to have a significance in the Shawanoe tongue. The absence of more, may not be owing altogether to the imperfect manner in which the sounds are probably conveyed, but in some degree to changes which the speech itself in a long interval has undergone; for individuals of the nation say, that the language is not even at present what it was among the old people who have lived within their memory. Another word is "Mocoço," the name of a chief who lived, in the year 1539, near the western coast, first noticed by Schoolcraft to be like *mkuo-tha*, "little bear," and which, also, if not the name of the same person, at least resembles that of another chief, "Moquoso," who lived on the eastern coast, mentioned subsequently by the French, a quarter of a century after the landing of Soto; and *Ki-si-ma*, meaning "insult" (by word), is the name of a lake, which, although perhaps equally ancient with the other, has not been so long recorded.

According to the account of JOHN JOHNSTON, Agent of Indian Affairs, which he gave in the year 1819, the Shawanoes had been established about sixty-five years in Ohio, having come there from Florida, and the adjacent country. They formerly resided on the "Suwaney" river, near the sea, where Black-Hoof, a chief,



then eighty-five years old, was born, who remembered to have bathed in the salt-water when a youth. He thinks that the stream was doubtless named from the nation, "Shawanoë," which I write from the lips of the natives *Sa-wan-wa ki*, the last word denoting "people."

I spoke of this portion of history to a delegation of Shawnees at Washington, in the spring of 1854; and three of them, who had known the chief, and often heard him speak of the incidents, agreed in relating the following particulars:

When Black-Hoof was a boy, the people in their wandering came to a river, at a place that had the appearance of having once been a settlement. A woman with them, blind with age, said that this should be their ancient seat; and, if it were so, near the bank, at a point she described, there was a spring of water. It was found; and close by, where she directed them to dig, they found a jar, in which was a piece of a sea-conch, that had been fashioned to wear as an ornament for the neck. She said, that when she was a little girl, and the nation was about to move away from there, the young people were called together to see those things buried, that afterwards, should they ever return, they might make sure of the spot of their old residence. They were told that they had left that place before; and once when they came back the trees had grown up on it to be large; that they had left it again, at another time, and at their return the trees were only small. She told them, moreover, that the hillocks they saw were of nothing but ashes, which the people had been accustomed to throw together from their fires; and on examination her statement was found to be correct.

Black-Hoof, *Ka-te We-ku-sa*, had the shell gorget, which my informants had all seen, and in his lifetime gave it to a Seneca brave. "White-Pole," *Wa-pah Ku-ne-ta*, who died in Ohio, they said was also present, when the nation crossed the *Sa-wan'-wa Thi-pi*.

Of another branch of this people CONRAD WEISER, "*one very well skill'd in Indian Affairs*," who was *naturalized* by one of the chiefs of the confederated nations bordering upon Pennsylvania and New-York, wrote:

"Shawanese are Bretheren to the Six Nations, but are not in the Confederacy: Their coming from the Spanish Dominions is remembered by many now living.\* The Five Nations gave them Lands on the West Branch of Susquehanna, and therefore claim a Superiority over them, for which the Shawanese mortally hate them. The greatest Part of 'em, a few years ago, went to settle on the River Ohio, which is a Branch of the Mississippi, and heads with the West Branch of Susquehanna. One tribe of them has quite gone down to New Spain; there are a few left still at Wyo-mick on the North Branch of Susquehanna, and others have a large Town on an

\* This was in the year 1744.





*Island in the West Branch, about 50 Miles above the Forks. They are the most restless and mischievous of all the Indians.*—*American Journal and Historical Chronicle.* Boston: printed in 1743, '4, '5, '6.

(<sup>GM</sup>) Saravay is written "Calany" by LAUDONNIÈRE, "Calabay" by BARCIA, and "Calanay" on the map of LE MOYNE, where the town is placed on the eastern side of the Saint John's River. It must not be confounded with "Sarauahi," which stood on a stream flowing in on the northern shore of the river opposite to Fort Caroline, from which it was distant one league and a half. Molloua stood leagues above the fort, and is probably the same as Maloua, placed by LE MOYNE on the right or southern bank.

(<sup>SN</sup>) The Council of the Indias in the year 1565, responding to a line of inquiry from the King respecting his rights to Florida, wherein the French had then lately erected a fort, said: "Since the year 1510, at different times, flotas and vessels have gone from these kingdoms to occupy Florida, in the name of Your Majesty, and have remained there many years on their discoveries."—*MS.*

This passage is from a celebrated work still in manuscript: "The rumour perhaps of this discovery at this time, in the beginning of the year 1511, must have excited Juan Ponce de Leon, several times mentioned, and who we before stated in the Second Book had been the first to disquiet and tyrannize over the native inhabitants of the Island of San Juan . . ." *El Tercero Libro de la General Historia de las Indias . . . por . . . el Obispo qe. fue de Chiapa.* But LAS CASAS, although a resident of Española, whence the vessels of which he speaks as having made the discovery of Florida had sailed, has grossly erred in connecting that event with the early voyage thither under the encouragement of Ayllón, and mingles the incidents of the one with those of the other, which he takes from PETER MARTYR.—*De Rebus Oceanicis et Novo Orbe:* Dec. VII., Cap. II.

Later writers, of different periods, without referring to the above authorities, alike assert the discovery of Florida to have been made in the same year. A *Procurador General de Indias*, who wrote in 1690 on the subject of the ecclesiastical affairs of this Province, has relied for the date of the discovery on the *Historia de la Provincia de Chyapa y Guatemala . . .* by Fr. ANTONIO DE REMESAL, printed at Madrid in 1619, and of Fr. AUGUSTIN DAVILA PADILLA, *Historia de la Fundación y discurso de la Provincia de Santiago de Mexico . . .*, Bruselas MDCXXX, in the fifty-eighth chapter of which is the passage: "From the year 1510, in which the land of Florida was discovered . . ." I have examined the *Monarchia Indiana*, which he consulted, but have found no additional support for this date from TORQUEMADA. He, the Friar FRANCISCO DE AYETA, is the writer of a work, says BERISTAIN, without title, place of publication, or date. I believe it to be



a book of great rarity. The copy in my possession, the gift of a distinguished antiquary of the State of Durango, belonged to the convent of Queretaro, of which it bears the brand, and has the superscription in antique letter: *la Verdad Defendida*.

The words in HERRERA, nicely regarded, may be found not altogether irreconcilable with the authorities: "— and as there was news (*nueva*) that lands were to be found to the north, Ponz determined to go on discoveries in that direction."—Dec. I, Lib. IX, Cap. X.

A map in the *Geography* of PTOLEMEUS, printed at Venice in the year 1513, shows the discoveries of the northern shores on the Gulf of Mexico, and on the coast of America north and west of it, to have been made at an earlier time than that of the visit of Ponz de Leon to Florida in the year 1512. It is the evidence of a long voyage prosecuted with unremitting search, the object of which we may readily conjecture was clandestine and the memorials of it suppressed. A passage in MARTYR, respecting the course of Sebastian Cabot, with whom he was on friendly and intimate terms, is remarkable in this connection. I think it may be read in this sense. He sailed from high northern latitudes along the eastern shore of America, until he came under the parallel of the Straits of Hercules (*off Cape Hatteras*), thence, coasting still, he went so far westwardly that Cuba (*in turning the Cape of Florida*) came to be on his left, while he was with it under the same degree of longitude; and in continuing to coast this great land, he found the course of the waters gently with him. *De Orbe Novo*: Dec. III, Cap. I. The voyage and the map, however, I am unable to reconcile in some important particulars.

<sup>(60)</sup> They are said by ALCEDO to be the reef of rocks on the northern side of Cuba, near the reef of Santa Isabel, the position of which he does not state; and LA TORRE, in his map, constructed to show the ancient geography of the greater Antilles, marks the *Banco de los Roques* with that name; but neither has indicated an authority. In this "Placel" is the *Cayo de Sal*; latitude 23° 42' North, longitude 74° 3' West from Cadiz. I have more confidence in the position of the Organos, "a ranke of high and low hilles with many sharpe heads like unto Organ pipes . . .," to be learned from *The 2 rutlier for the West Indies* in Hakluyt. According to it they lie off the northern coast of Cuba, before the Rio de Puercos; which is in a line nearly south of the Tortugas, and about 50' to the westward of Havana.

<sup>(61)</sup> The bison appears to have ranged in considerable numbers through Middle Florida a hundred and fifty years ago. It was considered in 1718, that



the Spanish garrison at Fort San Marcos, on a failure of stores, might subsist on the meat of the buffalo.—BARCIA.

(QQ) From this Chahta word, and *okla*, comes *Apelachicola*, now the name of a river, which means "aiding people." It is curious to observe, that a little after MR. GALLATIN speaks of his want of success in finding the meaning of this name, he should be writing *apela*, "help," without discovering it to be the principal element, and that he further translated *it apela* as "they help each other," and correctly explained it as having the signification "allies."—*Transactions of the Am. Antiquarian Society*, Vol. II. 1836.

(RR) A people once living on the margin of Espiritu Santo Bay, whose territory I venture to mark, after an attentive examination and comparison of the original accounts of Soto's expedition. With a little more labor, and having only correctness in view, I have written out from them a narrative of the approach of his ships to the coast, of the landing of the army, its encampment, and subsequent march into the interior of the Peninsula, in such manner as will enable the reader to form some opinion of the comparative value of each writer, and the probable amount of credit due to every statement; so that if the points of action laid down be not satisfactory, he may seek others more suitable to the circumstances related than those I have been able to discover at Tampa Bay. This I propose to throw into sections, and append with a map for general illustration; still however premising, that could I utterly disregard the authority of old maps, and an opinion sanctioned by a long succession of writers, I should judge from these records the landing-place of Soto to be far southward of Tampa; and, I may also add, that, for several reasons, I am inclined to consider the Bay of Calos, or Juan Ponz de Leon, to have anciently been that corner of sea lying between Cape Romano and a point of land to the south-eastward of it on the main.

(SS) The ignorance of Fontaneda in matters concerning the geography of the northern shores of the Peninsula on the Gulf, shows him not to have travelled into those parts. The Aite of which he speaks is not likely to have been remote from the dwelling-place of his Indian master.





## ESPIRITU SANTO BAY.

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IN lieu of names, *R* is placed for Rangel, the authority cited by Oviedo, *S* for Soto, *F* for Alvaro Fernandez, whom I believe to be the author of the *Relaçam Verdadeira*, *G* for Garcilaso, and *B* for Biedma.

### I.

#### LANDING OF SOTO.

ON the arrival of the fleet at Havana from Spain, Juan de Añasco was directed to get information of the country proposed to be subjugated. He was absent three months, running the coast on either hand, and returned. The Adelantado again sent him to find a port where the ships might enter with safety, and he was gone other three months on discoveries. From each trip the Contador brought back two Indians whom he had made captives in Florida (*G*),\* that they might serve the army there as guides and, in a short time, as interpreters (*F*).

On Sunday, the 18th day of May,† in the year 1539, Hernando de Soto, invited by favorable winds, left the harbor of Havana (*S R F G*) and sailed to the north (*R*). His armada consisted of two brigantines, two caravels, and five ships (*R F*); his force, of five hundred and seventy men (*R*)‡ and two hundred and twenty-three horses (*B R*).§

\* FERNANDEZ appears to have erred in stating that Danhusco made the reconnaissance, and that the number of Indians brought back was only two. *R*. GARCILASO alone says that Añasco went twice to the coast.

† 12th of May. *G*.

‡ Six hundred men were enrolled in San Lucar who went with Soto into Florida. *F*. We put on shore six hundred and twenty men. *B*.

§ There went from Havana two hundred and forty-three horses, of which number nineteen or twenty died at sea, (*R*); two hundred and thirteen horses. *F*. GARCILASO







many inhabitants (*R*). They learned afterwards that it was the town of Oçita (*R*) or Ucita (*F*).

The danger of the Governor at this time was great, and not less the anxiety of those on board the ships, because of his defenceless condition; for had he come to be in any extremity, they would have been unable to yield him assistance (*R*).

The next day, the brigantine with the Governor in returning to the ships, which may have been four or five leagues off, fell below, and was laboring ineffectually to gain them, when the caravel of Lieut. Gen. Figueroa went to its relief. The Pilot's brigantine being already placed as a signal to the fleet, this vessel was stationed on the opposite side of the channel, that the ships might pass between them. The squadron having already begun to make sail, the Governor went off to conduct it in over the shoals. Although the vessels proceeded slowly, casting the lead, two of them touched upon the bottom now and then; but as it was sandy, they received no damage and kept on (*R*). Thus sounding their way, they continued along, and anchored on the 30th (*F R*),\* because of shoals. Some soldiers, who went to get water and grass for the horses (*R*), brought off green grapes, which gave promising indications of a favored land; for they resembled the fruit of Spain, and none on board had seen the like growing either in Mexico or Peru (*G*). The shallowness of the bay not admitting the vessels with their burthens to go up to the town, they began to land the horses on the same day four leagues (*R*) and a little over from Hirrihigua (*G*), the town of the chief Ucita,† that they might draw the less water. This Indian was cacique of that country. It lies north of the Islands of Tortugas, which are at the entrance of the Bahama Channel, and is ten leagues in a westwardly direction from the Bay of Juan Ponce (*R*).

As soon as some horses were got on shore, the General Figueroa (*F R*) with seven cavaliers (*F*), among whom were Añaseo and Osorio (*R*), traversed the country (*R*) half a league about (*F*), and discovered ten warriors‡ reconnoitering (*R*), of whom they killed two (*RF*), and the Indians wounded two of their horses with arrows (*R*).

\* 31st. *G*.

† Two leagues off. *R*.

‡ Six. *F*.





The rest of the natives escaped (*R F*), because of the thickets and mire, and the weakness of the horses from their voyage. The camp was made on the sea-side, close upon the bay which goes up to the town (*F*). As much time had already been spent, the Governor sent Figueroa in his stead with the brigantines, and a hundred foot soldiers (*F*), to take possession of the town (*S R*);\* and afterwards, Arias returned thence, giving good account of the country, and stating, as the Governor had said before, that the Indians were gone (*R*).

The next day, which was Sunday, the 31st of May,† the army, being set in three divisions, began the march (*F*),‡ guided by the Indians whom Añasco had entrapped when sent by Soto to reconnoitre the coast (*R G*). As the captives did not understand the Spaniards, or led them falsely, the Governor went in advance with some cavaliers, who, having no experience as yet in the service, wasted the strength of their horses in coursing deer and in racing through water and bogs. After twelve leagues (*R*) of difficult travel (*S*), he came before the town, where there was a cove of such sort, that the Spaniards could not (readily) go round it. Being well tired, they slept there that night, in different places, without military order (*R*).§ The next day, the first of June, they arrived at the town, having compassed in the march great creeks which come out of the bay (*F*).

\* FERNANDEZ says the Governor went; but RANGEL writes that he sent the General, and this the letter of Soto himself confirms.

† 1st of June. *R*.

‡ The army remained here eight or nine days. *G*. The landing, says GARCILASO, was begun on the 2d day of June, when three hundred infantry were got on shore to attend the solemnity of taking possession of the country. After that was performed, they wandered along the beach without seeing any one, and slept that night on shore. At four o'clock in the morning, the Indians attacked them with such impetuous courage, that they were driven to the water's edge; when, at the sound of alarm, Figueroa poured forth over the sides of the ships both infantry and cavalry to their rescue, with the same celerity as if they had been on land. This, and much else, are wholly inconsistent with the circumstantial account of other narratives.

§ FERNANDEZ states that the army left on the 31st, and arrived at the town on the 1st; RANGEL, that it left on the 1st, and reached this place the same day, but he says nothing of going afterwards to the town. According to Soto, they arrived on the evening of the day they set out.



The town was of seven or eight houses, made of timber and covered with palm leaves. The house of the cacique was near the shore, on a very high mount formed by hand for defence. In another part of the town was a temple (mezquita), on which was a wooden bird with gilded eyes. Here some pearls were found of small value, injured by fire. These the natives highly prize, and pierce for beads, to hang upon the neck and wrists (*F*).

The Governor occupied the houses of the cacique; and Figueroa and Luis Moscoso lodged with him. In others, in the midst of the town, was quartered the Alcalde Mayor, Baltazar Gallegos. The rest of the houses and the temple were torn down, and every three or four men made a hut, wherein they dwelt. The neighboring ground was encumbered with thick shrubs and trees, which the Governor ordered to be cleared for the distance of a cross-bow shot about the town, that the horses might charge over it, and the Christians have the advantage of the Indians should they be set upon at night. In the paths, and at proper points, sentinels of foot-soldiers were placed in couples, that watched by turns. The horsemen visited them, and were ready to give assistance should there be alarm (*F*).

On Wednesday, the 3d of June, possession was taken of the country, in the name of Charles the Fifth, according to the usage of the Spaniards. The Governor then sent out a native, inviting the neighboring chiefs to make peace (*R*). At night, through the carelessness of their keepers, two of the captives escaped (*R F*).\*

The next day, Gallegos set out by order of the Governor with the remaining Indian (*R G*) in search of a Spaniard of whom they had heard since their landing as being among the inhabitants (*B S*), or to discover some people (*F*), town, or hut before sunset (*R*). He took with him forty infantry and as many cavalry (*S*).†

Captain Lobillo at the same time marched inland with fifty infantry, going through a country of ponds impassable to cavalry, and half a league on their way they broke upon some cabins. The men plunged into a river near by, and four of the women only were taken. Upon this the Spaniards were so pressed by the discharge of the arrows

\* The two. *F*. † Forty horsemen and eighty footmen. *F*. Sixty lancers. *G*.



of some twenty warriors, that they retired towards the camp, where they arrived with six of their number wounded, one of whom afterwards died (*F*).\*

This people are so brave and active that they care nothing for infantry; for although when pursued they flee, directly the face is turned, they follow. They readily avoid arrows; and as they do not remain a moment in one spot, neither crossbow nor arquebus can be aimed at them. Before a single shot can be made from either of these, an Indian will discharge three or four arrows, and he seldom misses his object. Their bows are very long; and the shafts are so heavy and stiff, that when sharp they will pass through a target. They are pointed with fish-bones or chips of hard stone. When they strike upon armor they usually break where they are bound together; but when they do not so light, they go as deep as a crossbow can send them. Those of cane will split and enter a coat of mail, and on this account are more dangerous than any other sort (*F*).

Gallegos going on his way, with four women whom he had taken in some huts two leagues from the town (*F*), while wandering from the path (*R B G*), came on an open plain (*F G*) in sight of some eight or ten warriors (*S*)† at a distance (*R*), who were following him (*F R G B*). The cavalry charged upon them at full gallop, and discovered the lost

\* RANGEL gives the number of the company at forty footmen. He states that nine Indians followed them a distance of three leagues, on account of two women whom they had taken; and with their arrows killed one of the soldiers and wounded three or four, without themselves receiving any injury. He marks this occurrence as taking place on the 7th; but as FERNANDEZ, from his manner of speaking, may be considered to have been one of the number who went out, his account is to be preferred: besides, the object of making the scout is not apparent after Ortiz had come into camp, and with him a number of friendly Indians. It is possible, indeed it seems probable, that the discrepancy is the fault of OVIEDO in having placed inadvertently a paragraph narrating the visit of the Governor to Mocoço between two incidents of the 4th, so that the last of them by its position and the words "este mismo día" is made to refer to the date before it of the 7th.

A little obscurity in the *Relação Verdadeira* has led HAKLUYT to connect, in his translation of this account, circumstances that took place with the command of Lobillo with those of the party which went out on the same day under Gallegos.

† Nine Indians. *B*. Fifty Indians. *G*. Ten or eleven. *F*. Twenty Indians. *R*.





Christian, but not before an Indian became wounded (*B G*).<sup>\*</sup> Ortiz was as naked as those he conducted, was painted and plumed like them (*B F G*), and carried a bow and arrows (*B G*). He was on his way from the Chief Mocoço to the Spanish General, then three leagues† distant, but, discovering a trail, had turned aside to recall the troop (*G*). They were directly taken up behind on the horses (*G F*); and when the night was far advanced, the savages and soldiers entered the camp together, to the great joy of the army (*F R G B*).

The Christian stated that he had never been ten leagues from where he dwelt.‡ He had heard it said that thirty leagues distant was an Indian lord, Paracossi,§ to whom the chiefs of that coast paid tribute, and that his land was more fruitful than theirs (*F G*), being plentiful in maize; but he knew of no country in which there was either silver or gold. The Governor, well satisfied with the account, said he only desired to find subsistence sufficient to enable him to march into the interior, since in a land so broad as Florida, a rich country must necessarily be somewhere found. He ordered that a good horse should be given to Ortiz, a suit of apparel, and efficient armor (*F*).

## II.

### CAPTIVITY OF ORTIZ.

ELEVEN years before the landing of Soto, when Panfilo de Narvaez was about to march with his army from the coast into the country, he directed that a brigantine should go to look for the port they had been seeking, and, if not able to find it, she should go to Cuba, and return, bringing back a vessel that had been left there, containing supplies. The ships, after his departure, proceeded without making any discovery; but, in returning, five leagues below where the expedition had landed, they found the harbor stretching inland seven or eight leagues.||

\* Two or three natives. *F*.

† Two leagues. *F*.

‡ He knew nothing of the country twenty leagues from the town. *B*.

§ Huripacuxi, twenty leagues off. *B*.

|| *Naufragios de ALVAR NUÑEZ CABEZA DE VACA*. Valladolid. 1555.



The brigantine, on her return from Cuba, passed into this bay in sight of the town, where on the shore a cane was seen sticking up with a paper in it,\* and four or five Indians not far off who beckoned the Spaniards to come to them. Two did so, against the wishes of the rest; but they had no sooner come to land than a large number of men ran out of the houses and directly surrounded them. One of the Spaniards, while attempting to defend himself, was killed; the other was taken and carried to Ucita. They tied him to a scaffold, raised on four stakes from the ground, over coals of fire, that he might be burned, when a daughter of the cacique interposed to save his life. She reasoned with her father, that the death of one white man could do neither good nor harm; but that the having of him alive would be of great credit. The chief, reflecting on it, ordered him to be taken down, and his wounds dressed. He was charged with keeping the temple, where the dead were placed, to protect them from wild beasts. One night some wolves came, and he threw a spear at one of them; but as it was dark, he could not tell with what effect, and returned to watch. In the morning the dead child of one of the principal men was missing, and, when the news of it came to the ears of Ucita, he determined to put the Christian to death: but in following the trail, the wolf was found slain, and the dead body lying by its side. His conduct pleased the chief, and the Christian gained upon his esteem (*F*).

When Ortiz had been in that place three years,† the chief Mocoço, who lived two days' journey from the port, came and burned the town. Ucita fled to one he had in another sea-port; but the Christian, being no longer useful, lost the favor of the master. These Indians shed human blood in sacrifices, both that of their own people and of others; and they say, that when the Devil wills that they shall sacrifice to him, he tells them he is thirsty. Now Ortiz was told by the girl who delivered him from the fire, that her father intended to kill him the day following, and bade him flee to Mocoço; for she knew that the

\* To entice them they showed two or three sheets of white paper, and some old papers which they had received during former friendships with the Spaniards, or got in other ways, and had well preserved. *G*.

† One year and a half. *G*.



chief would treat him well, as she had heard that he asked for him and desired to see him. As the captive knew not the way, she went with him half a league out of town after dark, to put him in the path, and returned early, that her absence might not be observed (*F*).

Ortiz travelled all the night, and coming in the morning to a river in the territory of Mocoço, he saw two Indians fishing. As he did not understand their tongue, he was afraid they might kill him, supposing him to be one of the people of Ucita. They did not observe him until he stood where their weapons lay, and then they straightway ran off, regardless of his calls to them to remain. As soon as they came to the town, their yells brought out many other Indians, who directly began to encircle him; when, finding himself in great danger, he sheltered himself behind trees, and cried out that he was a Christian fleeing to Mocoço. Fortunately, one of the Indians there understood him, and restrained the rest (*F*)\*.

So soon as the chief heard who was coming, he went out and met Ortiz a quarter of a league from the town. He told him, that if he would never attempt to leave him for any other chief, he would treat him well and suffer him to return to his own people, should any again come into the country. The Christian gave a solemn promise to do what was required (*F*).

One day, about three years afterwards, some Indians, who had been fishing at sea, two leagues from the town, brought news that they had seen two ships; whereupon Mocoço gave him leave to go his way. With all haste the Spaniard came to the sea-side; but finding no ships, he thought it a device to learn his mind. However, as soon as Soto came, the Chief told Ortiz that Christians were lodged in the town of Ucita; but the captive, thinking that he trifled with him, said, that he had forgotten his countrymen, and now only thought of how he should

\* Major John C. Casey, who has given me the definitions I offer of the names in the dialects of the Māskoki language, thinks that the River Alafia, which appears to be the stream just spoken of, may be a corruption of the Seminole *Chlafaya*, or *Thlafaya*, meaning "hunting ground." Pitchlynn, who knows nothing of the application, suspects it to be the Chahta *Ila pan-ya*, signifying "by-himself whoops," or, less literally, "one who whoops alone."





serve him. Nevertheless, Mocoço assured him of the truth, and bade him depart, saying that he had now been equal to his promise. The joy of the Spaniard was great, though he still doubted; and when he came to take his leave, the chief ordered some principal Indians to bear him company (*I'*).\*

Thus while Ortiz and his escort were on their way to the Spaniards, they saw the recent trail made by the detachment of Gallegos, which had been led out of the path; and, when they had consulted together, fearing some harm might come to the people of Mocoço, they resolved to follow him. The parties, as has been stated, came in sight of each other on a plain. The horsemen, eager for conflict, charged without order upon the natives, who directly took to flight; one person only remaining, who called out the holy name of Mary, making the sign of the cross, and repeating often in his forgotten language, "Sevilla," the

\* This natural tale of Indian character, customs, and superstition, is taken from the *Relaçam*, whence has seemingly been also drawn the version of the INCA, overcolored somewhat and enlarged by improbable incidents. The Portuguese narrative was printed as early as 1555; the Spanish, which contains a date as recent as 1568, was not completed until 1587, in which year it was chiefly written from the mouth of a gentleman of Córdoba, one of the expedition.

According to GARCILASO, four Spaniards landed from the vessel, following after the fleet of Narvaez, and were taken by the inhabitants. The life of the most youthful of the captives was saved by the interposition of the wife and daughters of the cacique; the others were hunted to death in the square of the town on a festive day. He says the hatred of the natives to the Christians was extreme, because of the cruel conduct of the Adelantado, who consigned the mother of the chief to be devoured by dogs, and caused him to be outraged in his own person. But these statements have no support in any other account of the march of Soto, or in that of Narvaez by CABEZA DE VACA; on the contrary, we have some assurance of their incorrectness in the character of the commissary, Friar Juan Suarez, the adviser of the Adelantado, a member of the religious order of San Francisco, who had been sent to New Spain by the consent of the Government, and under the sanction of Papal authority, to restrain the cruelty and rapacity of the conquerors.

The bay in which Soto came on shore does not appear to have been the landing place of the previous expedition. It was further south, if the route on the map, run by the light of all the authorities, be the correct one; while that of Narvaez was along the northern shore of Tampa, as is disclosed in the final chapter of the *Naufragios*, which is consistent with the facts given in the early part of the narrative.



place in which he was born. An Indian, overtaken on the margin of the plain, was wounded by the thrust of a lance. The Spaniards were called off from the fugitives, whom they were pursuing through the forest like deer (*G*).

### III.

#### DEPARTURE OF SOTO.

ON the 7th day of June (*R*), the Governor set out to visit Mocoço (*S R*), whose residence was six leagues\* off, and took Ortiz with him. The chief received him in his town, surrounded by his wives, family, and people, there being none absent. He complained of the chiefs Orriygua, Naguarete, Çapoloey, and Eçita, as having menaced him on account of his friendship for the Christians, and because of his wish to restore to them their countryman. The Governor assured him of his protection, and that of the many who would come after him. The next day, Sunday the 8th (*R*), they returned together to the quarters of the Spaniards (*S*).

The seamen had remained in the ships; and these coming up every day a little, in seven or eight days the tide (*F*) brought them to the town (*R F*), where all the provisions and clothing were landed in the boats (*R*).

Soto had been accustomed to the hunting and slaying of Indians in military expeditions on the southern main and in Peru, where he had gotten together his great wealth; and in following up his conquest here, having heard that there was an assemblage of Indians at [the town in which was] Oçita, he sent Figueroa thither. On his arrival the General found the inhabitants gone, and he burned the town. The Indian he took with him was cast to the dogs for not guiding honestly. There was also a woman, who told a messenger whom the Governor sent to the Chief Orriparacoxi not to return; and, when it was found that he did not come back, she was in like manner *aperreada*—fed to blood-hounds (*R*).

\* Eight leagues. *B*.



Since there was a diversity of opinion in the army as to the policy of making a settlement in a region that appeared to be so unfruitful as this, on the 20th day of June (*R*) the Governor ordered Gallegos to go to the country of Urripacoxit accompanied by eighty lancers and one hundred foot soldiers (*S R*),\* with instructions to send him information of all that he should discover (*F*).

When the Alguazil Mayor came to Paracossi, the chief was not in the town; but directly there came from him thirty Indians to enquire the object of the visit and his wishes. The Spaniard desired that the cacique would return to the town; and also asked for peace and friendship. The chief was too unwell to come, and sent his excuses the next day in civil language (*F*), though with hollow reasons; which nevertheless sufficed for his purpose (*G*). Gallegos, fearing that if he let the Indians go they would return to him no more, commanded that they should be chained;† he then sent eight horsemen with the news to the Governor of what he had done and what they reported of Cale,—a country to the west, it was said, inhabited by a people who wore hats of gold when they went to war with a nation further on, of whom they got their wealth (*F*).

As soon as the subsistence, ammunition (*G*), and clothing (*F*) were landed (*G*), which were afterwards stored apart in the houses occupied by Gallegos (*F*), in the town of the Cacique Hirrihigua,‡ the Governor commanded that the largest vessels should return, to be at the disposal of his wife Doña Isabel (*G*), whom he had left at Havana, that they might come at a certain time with provisions (*F*).

The Governor sent Añasco, with eighty infantry, in the boats belonging to the ships (*S*) along the shore (*R*), to disperse a large body of Indians that had been discovered (*S*) on an island. An engagement followed, in which nine or ten of the inhabitants were destroyed by the use of small cannon; and as many or more Christians in turn were

\* Fifty cavalry and thirty or forty infantry. *F*. Sixty lancers and as many infantry. *G*.

† The thirty. *F*. Some seventeen. *S*.

‡ So called by Garcilaso, and by others the town of Ucita. Hirrihigua may have been a lower chief.





wounded by their arrows. Failing to drive them from their position, Añasco sent for a reinforcement of cavalry, that when the enemy should take to the shore they might be met; for he thought with some help to engage them on the island: but when Figueroa arrived (*R*) with forty horsemen (*S R*), and some infantry (*R*), the Indians had escaped (*S R*). Not to have had their work in vain, he scouted about the country, and was thus enabled to take back some women. On their arrival at camp (*R*), in the night of the 8th of July (*S*), some altercation took place between the Governor and his General (*R*); whereupon Figueroa asked permission to go back to Cuba, which Soto gave, and with civil words the chieftains parted (*R G F*).<sup>\*</sup> Having distributed among those of the officers and soldiers whom he liked, his steeds, his weapons, his armor, the trappings of his outfit and household articles, Vasco Porcallo set sail with his attendants (*G*) and returned in a caravel to Havana.

Now the Governor had told Gallegos that, although he might never find a good country, he should write him favorable reports to encourage the army; and so the Alguazil Mayor being equally a soldier and a man of truth would send two letters, one of them telling him of the things exactly as he found them, which the Governor kept to himself, saying that it contained important secrets afterwards to be made known for the common good, and the other written in a manner so obscure that it could not be understood, and this letter was shown, the Governor giving to it such interpretation as he thought proper (*R*).

When the news reached the camp, which was on the day after

<sup>\*</sup> Rangel is purposely silent on the subject of their disagreement. Fernandez states the General's object in coming to Florida was to get slaves; but Garcilaso has described him only as a fiery old cavalier, profuse of his goods, ostentatious, and fond of a dash of adventure. What he states that the knight said, after he had seen somewhat of the country and its people, contains abundant reasons for his conduct: "Let him work who has need of it that he may eat or be honored; as for me I have more goods than I know what to do with and honour enough for my lifetime and longer." But the vigour of Figueroa must have failed early, if the lance had already become heavy to his hand; for at this time it appears he was in the forty-fifth year of his age. See a deposition published in the *Historia de la Isla de Cuba*, by RAMON DE LA SAGRA.



Figueroa left (*G*), it was such that, although it promised nothing certain, it produced a universal desire to go on and find what there might be; so with one voice the army asked to be led into the land. This was what Soto wished to bring about; but it was found less pleasing to those he decided should remain with Calderon, some forty cavalry and sixty infantry,\* who were to be in charge of the town, the stores (*R*), caravel (*G*), brigantine, and boats, having provisions with them for two years (*F*).

On Tuesday the 15th of July, eight weeks and a day after the arrival of the armada in Espiritu Santo Bay, Hernando de Soto took his departure (*R*) from Bahia Honda (*B*) with the main body of the army, to join Gallegos at Paracossi, and advance to the conquest of Florida (*R*). Taking a north-easterly course (*G*), he slept that night at the River Mocoço.† The next day, two bridges having been made, the army crossed over upon them and came to a lake. A hare springing up in the midst of the camp, a general estampida took place among the horses, so that they had to be sought after over the country for more than a league around. Leaving Lake Conejo, on the third day of their march, they arrived at Lake Johan; and the next day, under a hot sun, they came, greatly exhausted, to a savannah. A steward of the Governor died on the way of thirst, and more persons must have perished in the same manner, but for the assistance of the cavalry. On the fifth day they reached the cottage of Guaçoco, where the men ran into the maize fields and brought thence green ears; over which they much exulted, it being the first corn they had seen in Florida. Early on the sixth day they reached a pretty town, Luça, where the Governor was waited upon by the Alguazil Mayor. On the seventh

\* Forty lancers and eighty infantry. *G*. Three score infantry and twenty-six cavalry. *B*. Thirty horsemen and seventy footmen. *F*.

† The Governor left the Bay of Espiritu Santo and town of Hirrihigua, marching towards that of Mocoço, which he came in sight of on the third day. The distance is ten leagues, and thence to Urri-paracussi sixteen or seventeen leagues. *G*. We first went to the west and then to the north-east, marching from fifteen to twenty leagues through mire and rivers to the residence of Hurripacuxi. *B*.

They drove a large herd of swine in the rear, which they took with them to serve in the event of extreme necessity.



day, Monday, he united his force to that of Gallegos, and sent a messenger to Urriparacossi (*G*), but no answer was returned. The army remained there the ensuing day; and on the ninth the Governor marched through Vicela,\* to pass the night. On the tenth day of the march, which was the 24th of the month, the army slept at another town, Tocaste, on a great lake: but the Governor, with a party of cavalry,† went on further; for he had heard much of the wealth of Ocale, the roads thither were becoming wider, and he regarded himself as in the act of grasping a prize (*R*). The Peruvian Captain remembered the emeralds and gold of Caxamalca.

\* Acela. *F*. His account of this part of the march is very brief; that of Garcilaso diffuse and romantic.

† Thirty horsemen and fifty footmen. *F*.

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*Titles of books and other original writings that treat of the  
Expedition of Soto.*

Historia General y Natural de las Indias, Islas y Tierra-Firme del Mar Océano, por El Capitan Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdés, primer cronista del Nuevo Mundo. Publícala la Real Academia de la Historia, cortejada con el códice original, enriquecida con las enmiendas y adiciones del autor, é ilustrada con la vida y el juicio de las obras del mismo por D. José Amador de los Rios, Individuo de Número de dicho Cuerpo, Catedrático de Ampliacion de la Literatura Española en la Universidad de esta Córte, etc. Primera Parte. Madrid. Imprenta de la Real Academia de la Historia. 1851.





Carta que el Adelantado Soto escribió á la Justicia y Regidores de la Ciudad de Santiago de la Isla de Cuba. Julio 9 de 1539.

The original MS. is preserved at Simancas; a copy is in the historical collection of James Lenox, Esq., of New York.

Relaçam verdadeira dos trabalhos q̄ ho governador dō Fernão de soute e certos fidalgos portuguezes passaram no descobrimento da prouincia da Frolida. Agora nouamēte feita per hũ fidalgo Deluas.

Colophon: *Foy impressa esta relaçam do descobrimento da Frolida em casa de Andree de Burgos impressor e caualleiro da casa do senhor Cardeal iſſante.*

*acabouse aos dez dias de Fevereiro de anno de mil e quinhentos e cincoenta e sete annos. na nobre e sempre leal cidade de Euora.*

A copy is in the possession of Mr. Lenox. Reprinted in the Collecção de Opusculos Reimpressos relativos á historia das navegações, viagens, e conquistas dos Portuguezes. Publicada pela Academia Real das Sciencias. Lisboa. 1844.

La Florida del Ynca. Historia del Adelantado Hernando de Soto, Gouernador y capitan general del Reyno de la Florida, y de otros heroicos caualleros Españoles è Indios; escrita por el Ynca Garcilasso de la Vega, capitan de su Magestad, natural de la gran ciudad del Cozco, cabeça de los Reynos y prouincias del Peru. *Dirigida al serenissimo Principe, Duque de Bragança.* &c. En Lisbona. 1605.

The second edition was printed at Madrid, in 1723, with a proem by Barcia, under the name Don Gabriel Daza de Cardenas, &c.

Relation de ce qui arriva pendant le voyage du Capitaine Soto, et détails sur la nature du pays qu'il parcourut; par Luis Hernandez de Biedma.

In the Recueil de Pièces sur La Floride, by H. Ternaux-Compans. Paris. MDCCCXLI.

A copy of the original Spanish MS. is in the library of Mr. Lenox.

La relacion y comentarios del governador Aluar nuñez cabeça de vaca, de lo acaescido en las dos jornadas que hizo a las Indias.



Colophon: *Impresso en Valladolid, por Francisco fernandez de Cordova. Año de mil y quiniennientos y cinquenta y cinco años.*

Reprinted at Madrid, in the first volume of the *Historiadores Primitivos de las Indias Occidentales* by D. Andres Gonzalez Barcia, in the year 1749, the *Relacion* bearing the title of *Naufragios de Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca; y Relacion de la Jornada, que hizo á la Florida con el Adelantado Panfilo de Narvaez*. This *Jornada* has no separate title as originally printed, but the pages have the running heading *Naufragios de Aluar nuñez cabeça de vaca*; the title of the second is *Commentarios de Alvar Nvnez Cabeça de vâca, adelantado y gouernador de la prouincia del Rio de la Plata. Scriptos por Pero hernandez scriuano y secretario de la prouincia. Y dirigidos al sereniss. muy alto y muy poderoso señor el Infante don Carlos. N. S.* Each has a proem, but neither of these is given in the second edition.



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